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excavations at capernaum

volume I

1978-1982

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1978-1982

by

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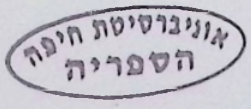

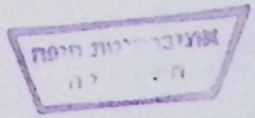

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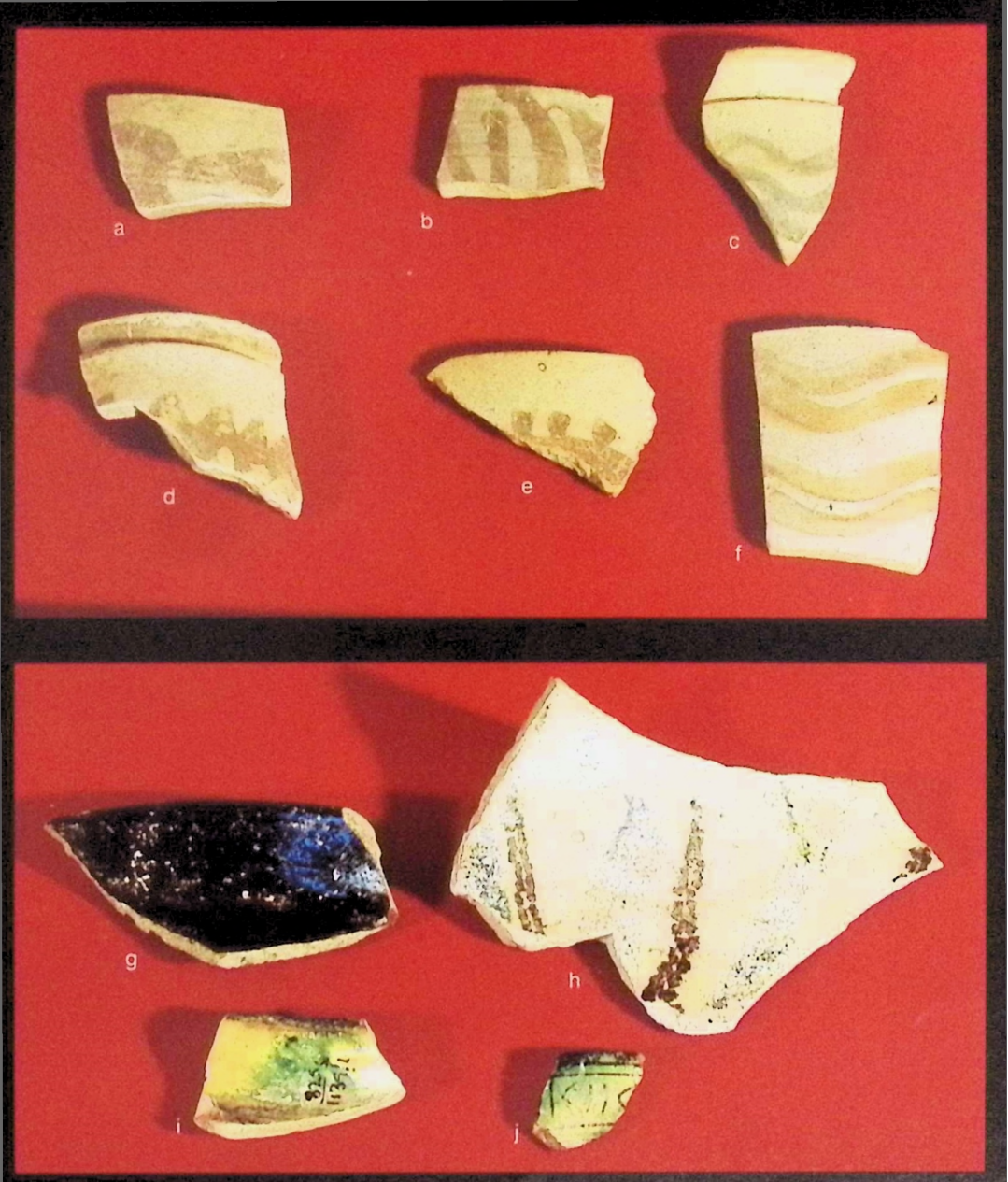

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preface

Since the end of the 19th century, the area of ancient Capernaum—Khirbet Tell Hum, in local parlance—has been in the hands of two church authorities, the Franciscans and the Greek Orthodox. Each group owns a section of the site, purchased about a century ago. In 1884, the Franciscan Fathers purchased certain plots and, at about the same time, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem purchased other land there. This resulted in the division of the ancient site between the two church authorities. The fortunes of the two areas, however, have differed considerably from one another in terms of both ancient and recent history.

Capernaum's main attractions are the monumental synagogue and the nearby church, both excavated in recent decades and of considerable importance for the information they yield about Galilee in the first centuries of the Christian era. Both of these structures are located in the Franciscan area and were uncovered and restored by several scholars and Franciscan archaeologists.

The first modern researcher to visit the site was Edward Robinson in 1857. Though he discerned the ruins and even distinguished the synagogue, he did not identify the site with ancient Capernaum, which he placed 3 km farther south, at Ḥorvat Miniah in the Ginosar Plain. Robinson was followed by Charles Wilson in 1866, Victor Guerin in 1870, and H. Kohl and C. Watzinger in 1905 (see Kohl and Watzinger 1916). Upon purchase of land by the Franciscans, scholars from that order began archaeological excavations on the site, as well as reconstruction and conservation work. The first Franciscan scholars involved were G. Orfali and V. Hinterkeuser, who worked mainly in the area of the synagogue in 1905 and 1921–1926 (see Orfali 1922). Large-scale excavations within the Franciscan area began only in 1969, under the direction of V. Corbo and S. Loffreda, who are continuing their work to this day. (Their work so far has been summarized in four volumes: *Cafarnao* I–IV.)

The area owned by the Greek Orthodox Church, on the other hand, has only begun to be studied. Until the 1930s it

lay altogether neglected; actual excavations began only in the last five years. The reason this portion of the site received so little attention is that no magnificent remains were visible on the surface, as they had been in the Franciscan area. The visible remains were of several huts, apparently once used by seasonal fishermen. Burchard, who visited the site in the 13th century, found only seven such huts there (see Stewart 1896d). During the 16th century, after the Ottoman Conquest of Palestine, there was an attempt to renew the Jewish settlement on the site, at the initiative of Don Joseph, Duke of Naxos. In 1547, the site was visited by Pierre Belon, who found a Jewish agricultural and fishing settlement there (see Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 32).

In 1931, the Greek Orthodox Church sought to utilize the area where the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Damianos, had earlier built a small church and a winter residence. These were used for several years before being abandoned. In the late 1940s, with the establishment of the state of Israel, the site became a sort of no-man's land, located as it was close to the border with Syria. The church and villa were neglected and almost destroyed. No one seemed to be interested in the fate of the site until the Six-Day War in 1967, which changed the situation of the region as a whole. In light of the accelerated development occurring all around the Sea of Galilee, and because of the beauty of the spot, the Greek Orthodox authorities once again took an interest in Capernaum. The Metropolite Germanos, a member of the Patriarchate in Jerusalem, restored the church and renovated the adjacent house. He also planned to plant trees and gardens, but after he consulted the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, it was decided that soundings should be conducted in the area first.

Thus the present excavation at Capernaum began—initially as a salvage operation. Today, however, the Metropolite Germanos and the Jerusalem Patriarchate are enthusiastic about the archaeological prospects, and work is continuing in the Greek-owned portion of the site on an annual basis. Five seasons of work have taken place so far: the first two seasons were conducted by the Department of Antiquities and Museums with the participation of the Greek Orthodox Church, most of the financial burden being assumed by the Metropolite Germanos. In the third season Notre Dame University of Indiana joined the project, and in the fourth year Averett College of Virginia also joined. The fifth season was carried out jointly by all four institutions, with the addition of a group from Southwest Missouri State University.

The first season of excavations took place during October 1978 under the direction of Vassilios Tzaferis. The archaeological staff included Arthur Higgs, Giora Solar (architect), and Fathers Cyprianos and Cyrillos of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. The manual labor was carried out by workers from Kafr Mghar in Central Galilee. The excavations were sponsored and supported by Metropolite Germanos.

The second season of excavations was conducted during May 1979. The staff included Vassilios Tzaferis (director), Arthur Higgs, Elizabeth Kessin, Father Cyprianos, Israel Vatkin (surveyor), Fathers Cyrillos and Hilarion (assistants), and volunteers from Israel, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The third season took place during May–June 1980. The staff included, besides the above, Yael Danieli (surveyor) and students from Notre Dame University and St. Mary's College of Indiana. The student groups were headed, respectively, by Professors Joseph Blenkinsopp and Harold Weiss.

The fourth season of excavations took place during May–June 1981, with the staff as noted above and with students from Notre Dame University (again led by Professor Blenkinsopp) and from Averett College, led by Professor John Laughlin.

The fifth season took place during May–June 1982. The staff included Vassilios Tzaferis (director), Arthur Higgs, Elizabeth Kessin, Michal Peleg, John Laughlin (who also led the Averett College student group), and Valentin Shor (sur-

veyor). Professor Blenkinsopp served as administrative director. An additional group of students from Southwest Missouri State University was led by Professor John Wilson.

With the completion of the fifth season of excavations at Capernaum, and after the clearance of almost the entire residential quarter on the site, it was decided to halt excavation work for one year to enable preparation of the material for publication. The first five seasons have yielded not only much ceramic and numismatic material, but also a rather satisfactory stratigraphic sequence, providing a continuity of some 400 years, from the early 7th century to the early 11th century A.D. (see Table of Stratigraphy, p. xi). This material, covering the later periods on the site, is presently being published as Volume I of our Capernaum excavation report. Volume II is to be devoted to the seasons of excavation from 1984 on, which are currently yielding principally Roman–Byzantine material.

In the present volume, as director of the expedition, I have written the chapter on architectural remains, as well as the summary of our results.

Michal Peleg, of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, who joined our staff in the fifth season, undertook preparation of the chapter on the local, domestic pottery. The subject of Late Byzantine and Early Arab pottery in Palestine has long been neglected, and its study is still in its infancy. Ms. Peleg's conclusions, partly pioneering, represent a major contribution to the present report, though in several points clear conclusions are illusive (mainly because of insufficient evidence). The Capernaum excavations have provided significant proof that the pottery known as "Khirbet Mefjer Ware" first appeared at the time of the Arab Conquest, in the mid-7th century A.D. At this site, at least, it is first found in the stratum (IV) representing the beginning of the Early Arab period.

Elizabeth Kessin Berman, who was our ceramic specialist in all five seasons, has prepared the study of the glazed wares, a significant factor in the history of Early Arab Pottery in general.

Professor John F. Wilson presents the numismatic evidence from Capernaum, in particular the hoard of gold coins, placing it in its broader historical context. He reviews other known Umayyad gold hoards, noting their political, social, and numismatic aspects, and summarizes in general the subject of Umayyad coinage. The gold hoard was initially studied by Ariel Berman, Inspector of Antiquities, the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums; he was also the first to note the homogeneity of the coins, and it was he who deciphered the legends on them. The very first coin he took to hand bore the date A.H 77, that is, it was among the earliest such coins known. Berman later studied all the coins from the site, deciphering their legends, dating and weighing them, and discovering the tantalizing graffiti on some of them.

Professor John Laughlin explores the identification of Capernaum on the basis of ancient Jewish and Christian sources. Though the identity of the site is no longer in doubt, certain scholars in the past did have other thoughts on the matter.

Professor Joseph Blenkinsopp has culled and summarized the literary evidence concerning Capernaum, arriving at interesting historical conclusions, tempered by our archaeological research in which he has participated for three seasons.

The field surveying and preparation of the plans was carried out jointly and severally by a number of surveyors and architects. In the first season our architect was Giora Solar, who established our initial grid on the site. He was succeeded by Yael Danieli, who both surveyed and drew several of the plans. Concurrently, Valentin Shor also carried out fieldwork and drew plans. Preparation of the plans for publication was executed primarily by Andre Ukonov, surveyor, and partly by Tanya Spektor; the work was overseen by Israel Vatkin, surveyor for the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

Drawings of the pottery and small finds were executed by

three artists: Michal Ben-Gal of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Tali Krinkin, and Rahel Pollak, each of whom left her mark and style on the respective drawings.

Field photography during the first season was professionally executed by Zev Radovan, who also photographed the gold hoard. In subsequent seasons, except during the fifth when Louis Cahill, a student, acted as photographer, the expedition director undertook the photography. The small finds were photographed by Tzila Sagiv of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, and by Photo Elia, Jerusalem.

Pottery restoration was done by Tamar Bar-Noy of the Department of Antiquities and Museums. Laboratory work was done by Ella Altman, also of that department.

Numerous other persons assisted in our project in one way or another, each contributing to its success. All are warmly thanked, including the laborers from Mghar ("Fatfut's workers") and the enthusiastic volunteers and students. Special gratitude is expressed to my loyal colleague, Arthur Higgs, who has accompanied the excavations since their inception.

The heads of the monastery at Capernaum during our excavations, Petros, Anastasios, and Thadeos, must also especially be thanked, having aided the project and the staff in innumerable ways. The archaeologist, Father Cyprianos, who participated in the first two seasons, and the monks Cyrillos and Hilarion, who lent their hand at removing tons of stone debris, also receive our gratitude.

The Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums not only provided funds for our project, but also lent all possible technical aid, including equipment, a vehicle, administrative facilities, and personnel. We cannot but gratefully acknowledge this generous support. The Director of Antiquities, Avraham Eitan, is in particular to be commended for his understanding of the importance of the excavation and for his ready granting of the requisite permits.

The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, owner of the site of our excavations, has not only supported the project materially but has also regarded (and continues to regard) it in a most enthusiastic light. A portion of the finds are presently on display at the Patriarchate Museum in Jerusalem. I must thank the Metropolite Germanos in particular for his contributions toward the success of the excavations.

The several academic institutions in the United States that took active parts in the project, financially as well as in providing staff, are most gratefully commended: the University of Notre Dame, Indiana; Averett College, Virginia; and Southwest Missouri State University.

I also wish to express gratitude to Rafi Grafman, who ably edited this entire volume.

Ms. Michal Peleg, despite the fact that she joined our staff only in the fifth season, has organized the entire material from all five seasons, acted as liaison between the several institutions and scholars involved in the project, and brought the present study to a successful conclusion. My gratitude to her is beyond expression.

Vassilios Tzaferis
October 1985

TABLE OF STRATIGRAPHY AT CAPERNAUM
(Areas A and C)

Stratum V	Early 7th century–A.D. 650
Stratum IV	A.D. 650–750
Stratum III	A.D. 750–mid-9th century
Stratum II	Mid-9th century–mid-10th century
Stratum I	Mid-10th century–A.D. 1033

Note: All strata are below sea level.

1

architectural remains

Vassilios Tzaferis

SURVEYS AND SOUNDINGS

Introduction

The Greek Orthodox Church's portion of ground at Capernaum, extending northeast of the Franciscan property, is a strip of land measuring approximately 120 × 220 meters (i.e., 200 dunams or 50 acres) along the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. The center of the strip rises above the surrounding area, forming a sort of hill. This is actually Tel Capernaum (Tell Ḥum), a low, broad mound the summit of which is at the center of the Greek property. On the southwest it borders the Sea of Galilee, whereas on the other sides it is enclosed by a wall and heaps of stones, gathered for agricultural purposes. It has now been confirmed that this was the border proper of Capernaum in ancient times. Ancient graves found beyond the wall and stone-heaps on

Fig. 1. General view of the Greek Orthodox area, looking west. Note the wall denoting the border with the Franciscan area.

the northwest indicate that that area lay outside the ancient settlement, and that the wall and lines of stones are indeed the original limits of the settlement (see figures 1 and 2 and plate 1).

Excavations during the 1978 season did not concentrate on individual areas. The entire area belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church was examined, in order to study the extent of the ancient settlement (fig. 3). To achieve this goal, a comprehensive survey, carefully recording all surface remains, was carried out, as were various soundings. These subsequently verified that the entire area did contain ancient material and that the center of the ancient settlement was to be found at this very spot. One of the surprising results of the survey was the discovery of a wall 2 m. thick and built of

Fig. 2. Medieval structures, probably fishermen's seasonal huts.

Fig. 3. Aerial view of Capernaum, before excavations, showing the various medieval buildings.

basalt boulders, running along the shore (fig. 4). The wall emerged from the Franciscan property and continued in a straight line for the entire length of the Greek area. The survey also revealed that the wall continued far beyond in a northwesterly direction, extending several hundred meters

Fig. 4. Sea-wall or wharf, at time of low water in the lake, looking east.

more along the shoreline. Excavation of this wall has not yet been carried out, and thus it is still somewhat enigmatic. However, it seems not to be a defensive wall, but rather a sea-wall or wharf, which would logically have bordered the settlement on the sea-side to prevent the penetration of waves into the settlement; further, fishing vessels could have docked along it. The survey also showed that the wall turned at a right angle opposite the Patriarch's house, and continued some 25 m. into the water. There it formed an actual pier, 20 m. wide. Remains of a building adjacent to the pier, in Area D, confirmed that the wall was associated with fishing. This building contained fish-ponds and most probably had served as a fish market (see below).[1]

In addition to the survey, several spots were examined, covering almost the entire Greek area (see plan 2). Work was concentrated mainly in four areas: Area A on the northwest of the excavation area; Area B in the southwestern corner, by the sea; Area C, the central area; and Area D, in the southeast, adjacent to the church and the pier.

Area A

The excavations proved beyond all doubt that Area A was a mound and that several structures had been built there, one atop the other. Work during the last two seasons of excavations concentrated solely in this area and the results are treated separately below.

Area B

Initial study of surface material indicated the presence of massive walls in Area B, probably of a public or administrative building. A large structure (11 × 12 m.) was uncovered

[1] Excavation and investigation of this important area was renewed in 1984.

almost in its entirety, containing three distinct occupational phases. Pottery on the original floors is of the late Byzantine period, and thus the initial construction probably took place in the 6th–7th centuries A.D. The public nature of the building appears to have continued throughout the two succeeding phases.

Three further phases of occupation in Area B were found north and west of the large structure. The two earlier are represented by several wall fragments that were exposed close to the surface and adjacent to the large structure. These wall fragments are from sometime after the abandonment of the public building, but no exact date could be established. The latest phase is represented by remains of a hut from sometime between the Middle Ages and the 18th century.

Area C

In Area C, the central section of the site, only a small-scale sounding was conducted during the first season of excavations (fig. 5). In 1979, however, work concentrated on the remains of three buildings, in an attempt to obtain a relative sequence of occupation. It was subsequently revealed that these buildings contained six distinct occupational phases.

The northernmost of the three buildings located in Area C (of which only a small portion was excavated, see plan 3) was built up against the central building. The eastern and western walls are on the same lines as those of the latter, but are ca. 10 cm. narrower and are of poorer construction. At present, there is no evidence for an opening on the north into the central building. A partition wall (W 605) divided the southern part of the building into two rooms, the larger of which was paved with basalt cobbles; the smaller room had a beaten earth floor. The floor levels were only 25 cm. below the surface, and the pottery associated with them was mixed. The two other buildings excavated in Area C form a large unit—a central building (12.3 × 12.4 m.) and a secondary

Fig. 5. Area C: General view, looking west.

structure (7.0 × 12.4 m.), attached to the former and representing a later addition (fig. 6). Five main occupational phases were distinguished, from the late Byzantine period to the 11th century A.D. A minor probe in the southern part of the building revealed remains of a wall beneath the original floor. This wall was dry-built of large boulders, and in the adjacent fill there was pottery of the Early Roman period. This was the only spot where remains of the Early Roman period were found (this phase, denoted Stratum VI, is not considered along with the aforementioned five phases). The five main strata are distinguished by separate floor levels and by architectural modifications within the building.

The outer walls of the central building were constructed of semi-dressed stones set in two parallel faces with a mortar fill between them. The large stones of the outer face were dressed only on their outer surface. The inner face was of smaller fieldstones. Plaster was applied to both the interior and exterior faces. Ashlar blocks, dressed on all four sides, were used in the corners and in the doorposts, whereas large basalt monoliths were used for the thresholds.

Stratum V (first half of 7th century A.D.). During the period of Stratum V occupation the building comprised a large open courtyard on the south and two rooms (Rooms 1 and 2), of similar size, on the north (see plan 4). The building was entered through three openings, one on the west, through W 606; and two on the south, through W 618. Free movement was possible within the building, between the several parts, through impressive doorways (fig. 7). One such doorway served both the southern rooms and the central courtyard, and a third double doorway in W 602 connected the two rooms with one another. A pillar abutting W 601 was of an as yet undefined function (fig. 8). The floors of the southern rooms were of beaten earth, whereas the courtyard floor was a thick layer of plaster.

Stratum IV (mid-7th–mid-8th centuries A.D.). The general plan of the structure was altered radically in Stratum IV, both internal modifications and additions on the south, forming, in effect, a second building (plan 5). The large open courtyard was divided into two by a new wall (W 612), while Rooms 1 and 2 of the previous level remained unchanged. All the rooms of the building were now paved in stone, laid immediately above the floor of Stratum V. The new section on the south was built abutting the outer, southern wall (W 618), through which the main building was still entered,

Fig. 6. Area C: View of the building units, looking north.

Fig. 7. Area C, Stratum V: Remains of the plaster floor, looking north.

Fig. 8. Area C, Stratum V: Pillar abutting W 601, looking east.

as in Stratum V. The eastern and western walls (W 623 and W 620) continued those of the main building (fig. 9). A series of probes located the southern enclosing wall (W 630), some 6.5 m. out from W 618. Thus, the measurements of the new building can tentatively be established as 7.0 × 12.4 m. A 3 m.-wide room was found in the eastern part, paved in stone similar to that of the main building. This room probably served as an inner courtyard, since its main entrance was through outer W 623. Apart from this room, very little was exposed within the building. Walls W 621 and W 626, running north-south, divide the interior into three rooms. The complete plan, however, has not yet been recovered.

This structure displays a public character during the two earlier phases, as is reflected by the interior division,

Fig. 9. Area C, Stratum IV: Stone pavement, looking south.

Fig. 10. Area C, Stratum III: Beaten earth floor overlying stone pavement of Level IV, looking north.

the number of entrances, the absence of domestic facilities, and scanty remains of pottery. Its specific function remains undetermined.

Stratum III (mid-8th–mid-9th centuries A.D.). In Stratum III (plan 6), most of the earlier walls were utilized in both the main building and in the southern one. New features were added, again changing the internal organization of the plan and hence its character. A "work bench" was added in Room 3, attached to W 612, on which were set storage-jars and cooking pots. A *tabun* (oven), containing traces of charcoal was found near the bench. In the adjacent Room 4, of the previous stratum, a partition wall (W 610) was added to create two new rooms (4 and 5) of almost equal size. These rooms were interconnected by a large doorway at the eastern end of W 610. A large limestone basin was placed in Room 4, up against W 601; it probably had some domestic use. No changes were made in Rooms 1 and 2, except for a new doorway arrangement in W 602. All the rooms were repaved in beaten earth, laid over the previous pavement (fig. 10). In the southern part, no significant changes were made, apart from the addition of W 627, probably built over W 621 of the previous stratum. The southern building was now paved with a beaten-earth floor. The outer doorways in W 606 and W 623 remained in use.

Stratum II (second half of the 9th–first half of the 10th centuries A.D.). Further reorganization of the building complex took place in Stratum II, especially in the main building (plan 7). A semi-circular installation was set up in Room 4, between W 602 and W 601, probably as a platform for a flight of steps leading up to a second story (fig. 12). Further, a column was placed at the center of the room, to support the additional weight of the upper floor. The opening in W 602, connecting Rooms 1 and 2 in the previous stratum, was blocked and Room 1 was divided into three small spaces (Rooms 1–3) by the addition of two partition walls (W 607

and W 603). The eastern part (Room 3) was probably used as a storage space. Room 5 of Stratum III was similarly divided into two unequal spaces (Rooms 7–8) by new W 629. The western part was entered through an opening in W 612. In the northern part of W 612, an additional doorway was opened, providing free access between Rooms 5 and 6. A new beaten-earth floor was laid upon the earlier one (fig. 11). The exterior doorway in W 606 was now blocked up, leaving only one entrance on the east, in W 623, for the entire complex. The doorway on the east in W 618 was also blocked up by a lintel stone that bears a bas-relief of two animals, probably lions.

Stratum I (second half of 10th century to 1033 A.D.). Stratum I, the final occupation level in Area C, was poorly preserved, although it could be traced clearly throughout the area (plan 7). In Room 2, new walls (W 632 and W 633) were built above the floor of Stratum II. There was also a new floor of beaten earth, traced in various places, some 30 cm. above the previous one.

The southern part of the building was badly eroded. Limited quantities of pottery and some coins constitute the small finds, while the architectural remains include a few partition walls and evidence of repairs to existing walls. This final settlement appears to have been small and poor. There are no signs of destruction, and the area was probably abandoned during the 10th century A.D., probably for economic reasons.

Fig. 11. Area C, Strata II and II: Earth floors, looking north.

Fig. 12. Area C, Stratum II: Platform for stairway leading to upper story, looking west.

During the later periods on the site, Strata III–I, the structures in Area C had been converted into a private-domestic unit. This is reflected in several major interior alterations, blockings of entrances, reductions in size of various rooms, and the abundance of domestic wares and installations, such as storage-jars, cooking-pots, and *tabuns* (fig. 13).

Area D

Area D, close to the water's edge, yielded the remains of Capernaum's fishing trade, as mentioned above (see plan 8). A well-built structure (2 × 5 m.), rendered water-tight by a thick coating of hydraulic plaster, appears to have served the town as a storage pond for fish and as a fishmarket. Inside the building there were two shallow, semi-circular ponds that could be emptied through clay pipes leading from each pool into the lake (fig. 14). Clearly, the ponds were used for the fishermen's catches, prior to sale in the market. A rectangular platform separating the two ponds was presumably where the fishermen (or their wives) could conduct their trade.[2]

Excavations have concentrated on the area of the ponds, but these are by no means the only ancient remains found in this area. The installation was part of a larger structure, some of which lies beneath the modern church, the Patriarch's villa, and the recent gardens. Pottery from the area indicates that the installation was in use as late as the 10th century A.D.

[2] In the trial excavations conducted adjacent to the ponds in the gardens surrounding the church, remains of thick, plastered walls came to light, belonging to some large structure. The ponds were surely associated with this structure. Both the structure and the ponds were quite close to the lakeshore and opposite the anchorage of the ancient settlement. The anchorage itself was clearly visible until the development work on the site, shortly before commencement of our excavations. Similar anchorages, for fishing boats and rowboats, have been discovered at numerous sites around the shores of the lake, at Kursi, Kfar ʿAqaviah, Tabgha, Magdala, and Haʾon (see Nun 1974: 212–19).

Fig. 13. Area C, Stratum I: Remains of a tabun *(oven).*

Fig. 14. Area D: General view of the fish ponds.

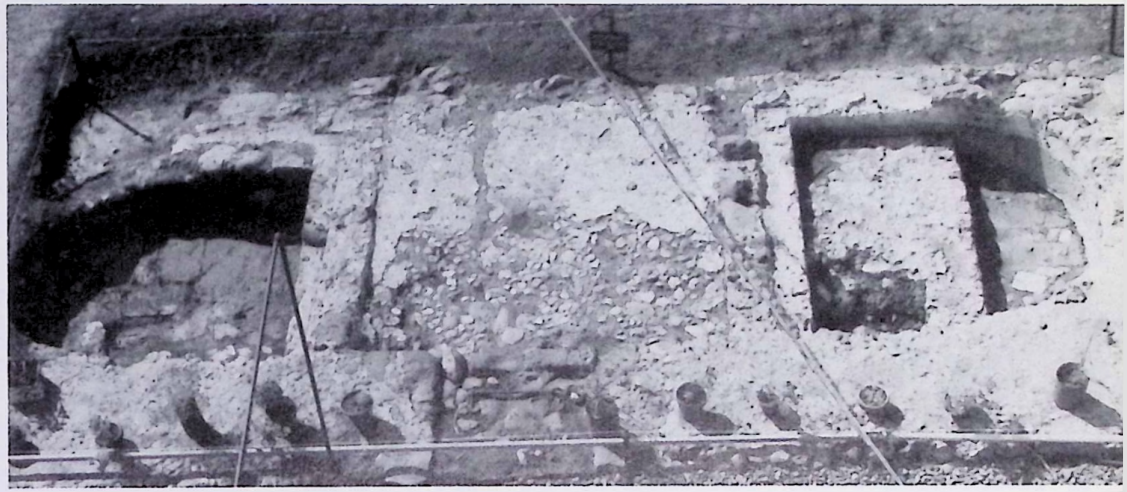


Fig. 15. Area A: General view, looking south.

AREA A

As mentioned above, the last three seasons of excavations concentrated in Area A (plan 9), at the summit of the mound and covering about 400 m^2. Here an almost complete dwelling quarter was exposed, including houses and streets running between them (fig. 15). This area provides an opportunity to study the history of settlement on the site over a period of 400 years, from the 7th to the 10th centuries A.D. Five levels of occupation were distinguished in this area.

Stratum V (A.D. 630–650)

The architectural remains of Stratum V (plan 10) rest upon a thin layer of gray soil containing Early Roman pottery of the 1st to 2nd centuries A.D. No architectural remains are associated with this thin layer; thus, it is assumed that it does not represent an occupational stratum per se but rather the natural surface of the site. The Roman pottery is undoubtedly to be associated with the Roman settlement to the south and southeast of Area A, as well as within the Franciscan property. Stratum V, the earliest occupation in this area, is represented by four architectural complexes (A, B, C, and D), partially or completely preserved, as well as by additional structures integrated into the grid system of the settlement.

Building A. One of the largest (9.5 × 14.0 m.) and most impressive structures in the area, is located west of Street 1. Building A (fig. 16) is a trapezoidal structure (although its

Fig. 16. Area A: Building A (in upper right corner), looking south.

Fig. 17. Area A, Stratum V: Building A, looking south. Note door with socket.

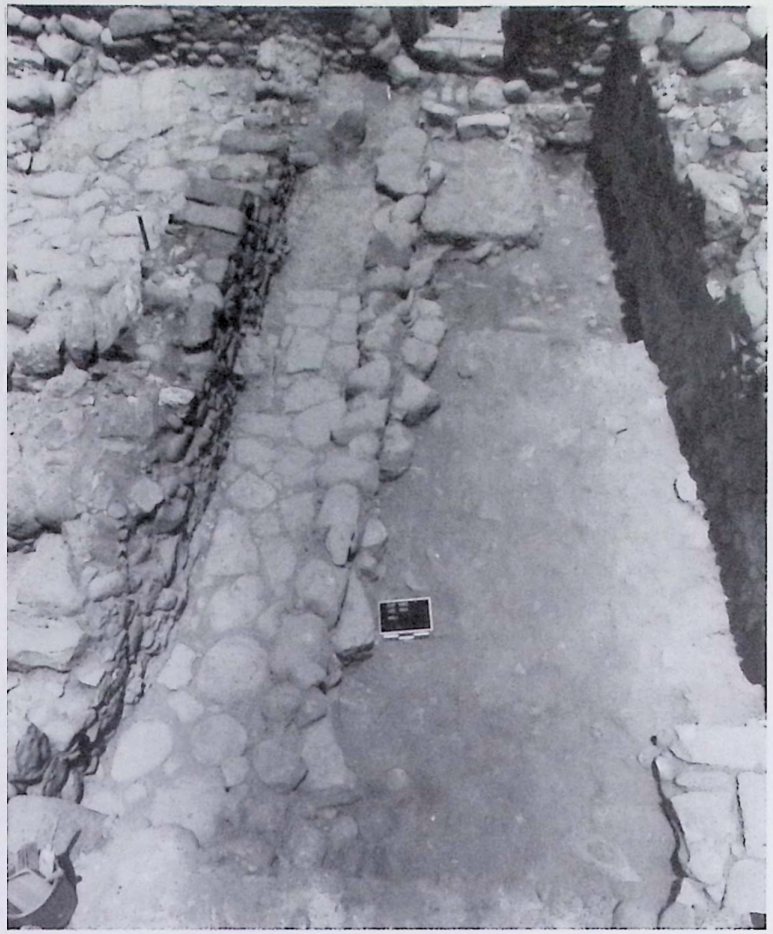
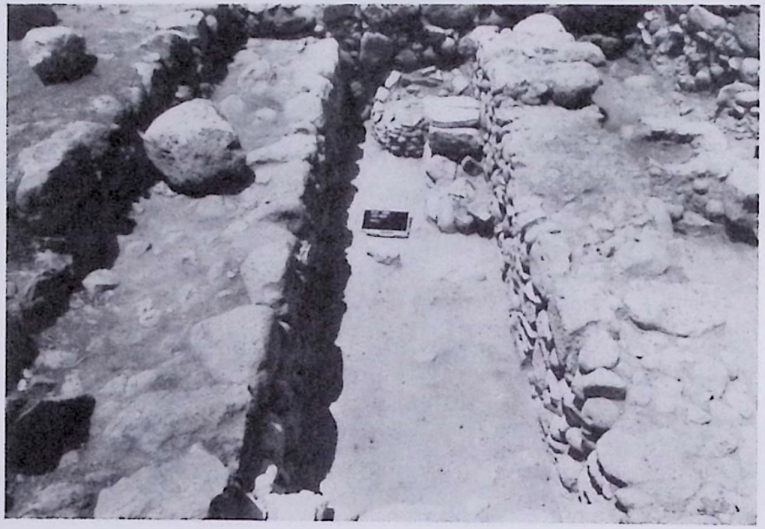


Fig. 18. Area A, Stratum V: Building A, Room 1 (where the gold hoard was found), beaten earth floor, looking north.

southwestern corner has yet to be excavated). The walls are built of basalt ashlars, except at the corners, where larger worked stones were used. White mortar bonds the stones and covers both the exterior and interior faces. The building has three entrances: one at the southeast corner and two along the northern wall (W 125). The arrangement of the door sockets indicates the use of double doors (fig. 17). The structure comprises two units (Rooms 1 and 2) separated by a partition wall (W 140). It is unclear whether the rooms were interconnected in any way. There may have been a doorway between them in the southern part of W 140 (as yet unexcavated). Room 1 is a square (8 × 8 m. internally) with two entrances, one on the southeast and the other on the north. The hall may have originally been divided into two by an arch running from W 125 on the north to W 131 on the south. A pilaster was built as an integral part of W 131 at its center. Accordingly, there may originally have been an identical pilaster on the opposite wall (W 125; the general plan of this building, however, was preserved throughout the five strata of occupation). Room 2 is a smaller unit (4 × 8 m.) occupying the western part of the building.

Fig. 19. Area A, Stratum V: Building A, Room 1, stone installation on beaten earth floor, looking east.

Fig. 20. Area A, Stratum V: Building B, floor with tabun *(oven), installation, and pottery vessel, looking north.*



In both rooms the floors are of beaten earth mixed with much white mortar (fig. 18). The floor levels vary by about 20 cm. from room to room. Within Room 1, near the northern entrance, are the remains of a stone platform (fig. 19), and adjacent to W 125 there are what may be the remains of a staircase leading to a second story.

Building B. Building B is located south of Building A, sharing a common wall with it (W 131). Only the eastern part of the building has been unearthed. Both Buildings A and B seem to have been planned simultaneously. W 131 continues beyond the southeastern corner of Building A, forming a corner with W 232. W 239 on the south, only partially excavated, is an interior partition wall. The building continues southward beyond this wall, and it may have been of a size similar to Building A, or even larger. The main entrance to this complex was most probably on the east, directly off the street. Several interesting installations were discovered near the corner along W 232, including a *tabun* covered with bricks (fig. 20), and a cistern (1 × 1 m.), coated with a hard, gray hydraulic plaster (fig. 21). Two heaps of dark red and reddish dyestuff (powder) were found within the cistern (fig. 22). These installations may indicate the structure to have been a workshop, possibly a public one.

Building C. Located on the eastern side of Street 1, Building C (fig. 23) comprises a single unit of almost square plan (3.0 × 3.5 m.). There are two entrances to the unit: one on the north through W 160, and the other on the south, through W 206. The room is paved with large basalt slabs. An elongated, narrow hall opening onto Street 1 abuts the room on the south, perhaps serving as a front courtyard through which Building C was entered. The northern entrance had no such arrangement, opening directly onto Street 3. There is no indication of the original function of this building. A stone socket overlaying the pavement adjacent to W 160 may point to the domestic nature of the structure.

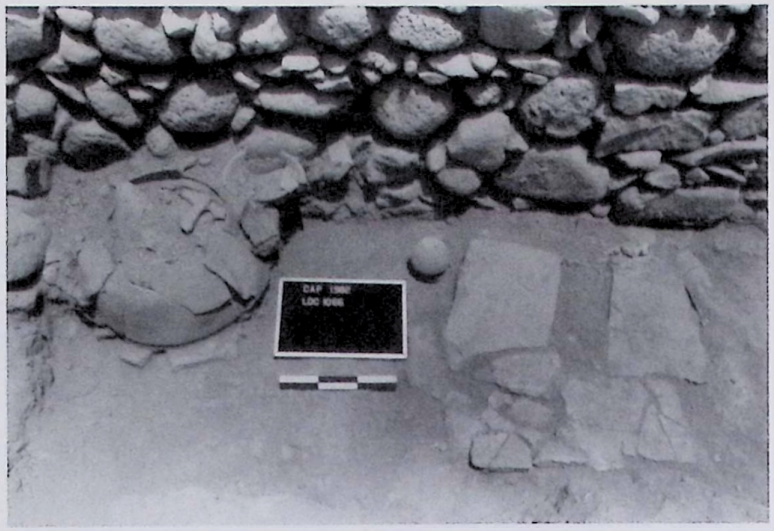


Fig. 21. Area A, Stratum V: Building B, vessels in situ *on floor, looking east.*

Fig. 22. Area A, Stratum V: Building B, cistern containing powdered residue (dyestuff), looking south.

However, the spacious plan of the unit, the ready access to the building from Streets 1 and 3, and its stone pavement would point to a public function—a storehouse or workshop (it served as a public bakery in Stratum IV). The unusual thickness of the walls may indicate the former presence of a second story, reached by means of a staircase abutting W 206.

Building D. Building D is located east of and adjacent to Building C. Its western walls (W 148 and W 154) abut the wall (W 161) of Building C, creating the impression that the two complexes were a single unit. The building comprises two spacious rooms (1 and 2) divided by a partition wall (W 216). In the center of W 216 there is a broad doorway connecting the two rooms. Room 2, the northern one, is the smaller of the two (2.0 × 6.0 m.); the southern room measures 2.5 × 6.0 m. Both rooms have gray, beaten-earth floors. Room 1

Fig. 23. Area A, Stratum V: Building C, looking east. Note socket on beaten earth floor; the two tabuns *(ovens) are of Stratum IV.*

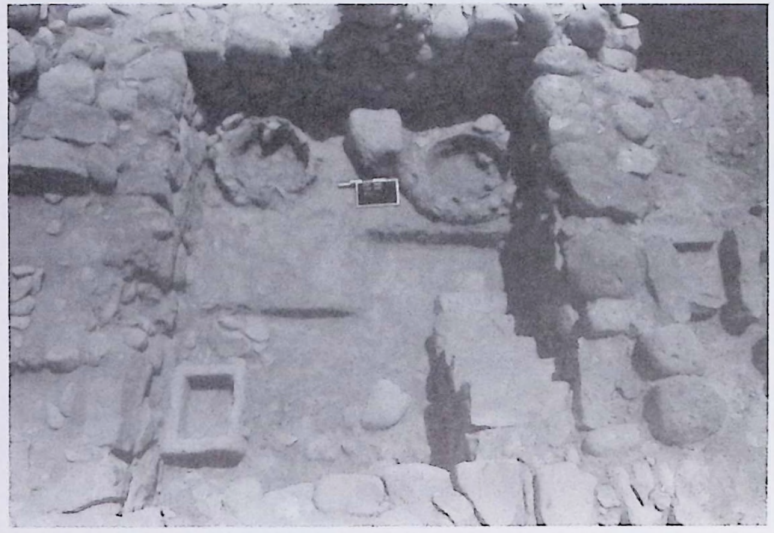


Fig. 24. Area A, Stratum V: Street 1, looking north. In the fore, street pavement; behind, rock resting on Stratum IV pavement, blocking street.

Fig. 25. Area A, Stratum V: Building C, drainage leading toward the street.

was possibly divided by an arch running from W 216 to W 246. Pilasters attached to these two walls were found intact, while much of the arch was found fallen within the room. Along W 227 on the east, two broad doorways gave access to other rooms (at least one) to the east. W 246, which runs beyond the southeastern corner of the structure, may confirm the existence of additional buildings there. The main entrance may have been through the southern wall (W 246), which was almost completely destroyed by later structures.

Further Architectural Remains. Some 3 m. south of Building C, the corner of a building was uncovered, including W 240, which runs throughout the entire area south of Buildings C and D, parallel to Street 2. W 240 runs east-west and is parallel to W 218 and W 246, of Buildings C and D, respectively. Street 2 runs between Buildings C and D and

Fig. 26. Area A, Stratum V: Street 1, cistern.

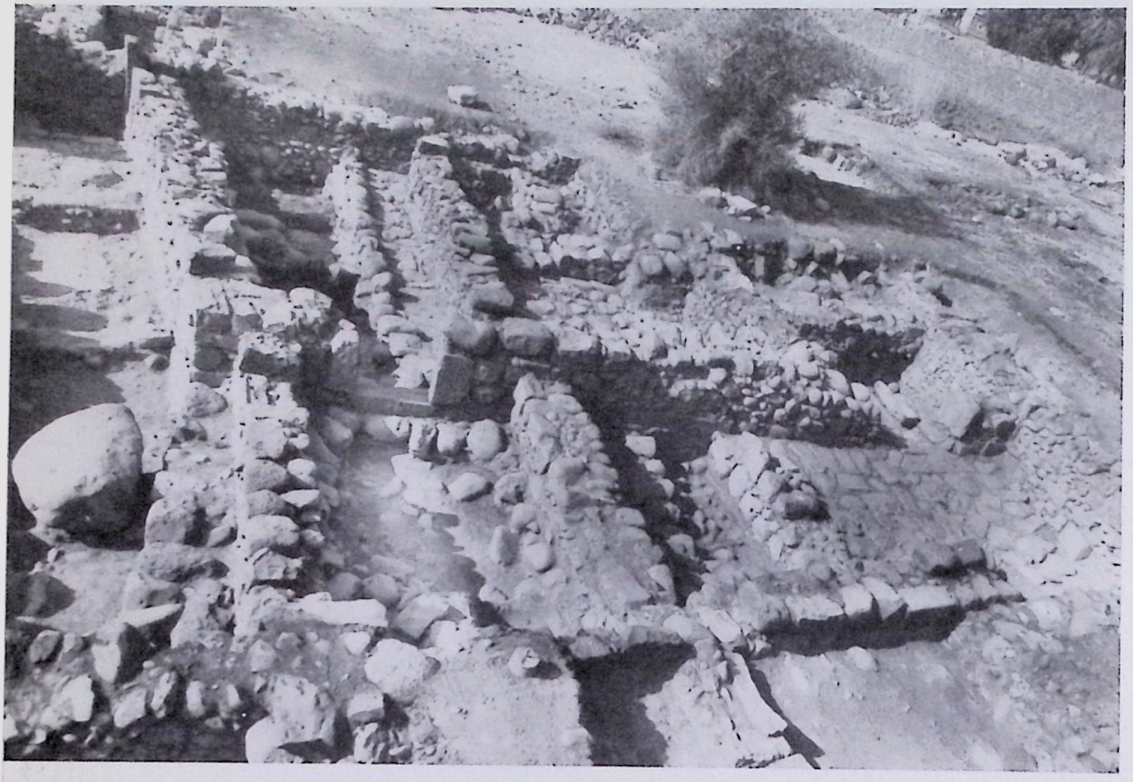
wall W 240. Two additional walls, forming the corner of another building, were unearthed some 5 m. north of Building A, integrating with the general layout of the structures uncovered. Parts of water installations were uncovered north of Building C, including remains of a round, plastered cistern and a water channel, probably used for drainage. This channel runs westward and turns south into Street 1 some 1.50 m. from the cistern, where two additional drains existing from Buildings A and C join it (figs. 24, 25, 26). This installation may have been a public fountain at the junction of Streets 1 and 3.

The various buildings of Stratum V were erected along the broad streets, providing free movement between the various houses. The main street, Street 1 (fig. 27), running from north to south, sets buildings A and B off, on the one side,

Fig. 27. Area A, Stratum V: Street 1, beaten earth floor and southern corner of street, looking south.

from Buildings D and C, on the other side. Street 3 runs north of Buildings A, C, and D on an east-west axis. Street 2 runs between Buildings C and D to the north and the as yet unexcavated buildings to the south. The main entrances of all the houses face the street. All the street pavements are of beaten earth, tempered with pebbles or gravel mixed with small potsherds. In essence, the remains represent spacious houses with symmetrical interior division. The walls, including the inner partitions, are built of basalt ashlar masonry in most cases. The walls are plastered on both faces. All the floors were of beaten earth, except the stone pavement in Building C. Most of the houses had a second story where the breeze of the hot summer days could be enjoyed. The size of the buildings (as well as that of the individual rooms), the construction technique, and the street grid all testify to a flourishing economy in the settlement, which was well planned, taking into consideration the comfort of the inhabitants. The remains are fairly well preserved, despite the prolonged use of the buildings throughout almost the entire period of the five occupational strata on the site.

Fig. 28. Area A, Stratum IV: Building A, looking south. At lower right, the new constructions.



Stratum IV (A.D. 650–747)

The general plan of the area, as well as that of the various houses, changed somewhat in Stratum IV (plan 11). The most extensive changes occurred in the northern part of the area, where new buildings replaced a previously open street (Street 3). New constructions were added north of Buildings A and C, and a new wall adjoined the western wall of Building C, thus narrowing Street 1.

Building A. The basic plan of Building A resembles that of Stratum V. Some construction took place alongside the northern wall (W 125). The eastern entrance to the house remained in use, but the two northern entrances, with the appearance of the new constructions, became interior doorways (fig. 28). A new entrance to the building was opened at the western end of the new wall (W 204). The interior scheme of the building is quite clear at this stage: new walls (W 145 and W 231), and the original wall (W 140), divided the complex into two large halls (Rooms 1 and 4) and into two smaller rooms (Rooms 2 and 3). The eastern hall (Room 1) was probably used as a work room or an inner courtyard, entered from Street 1; through it one passed into the rest of the house. The hall is paved with basalt stones overlaying

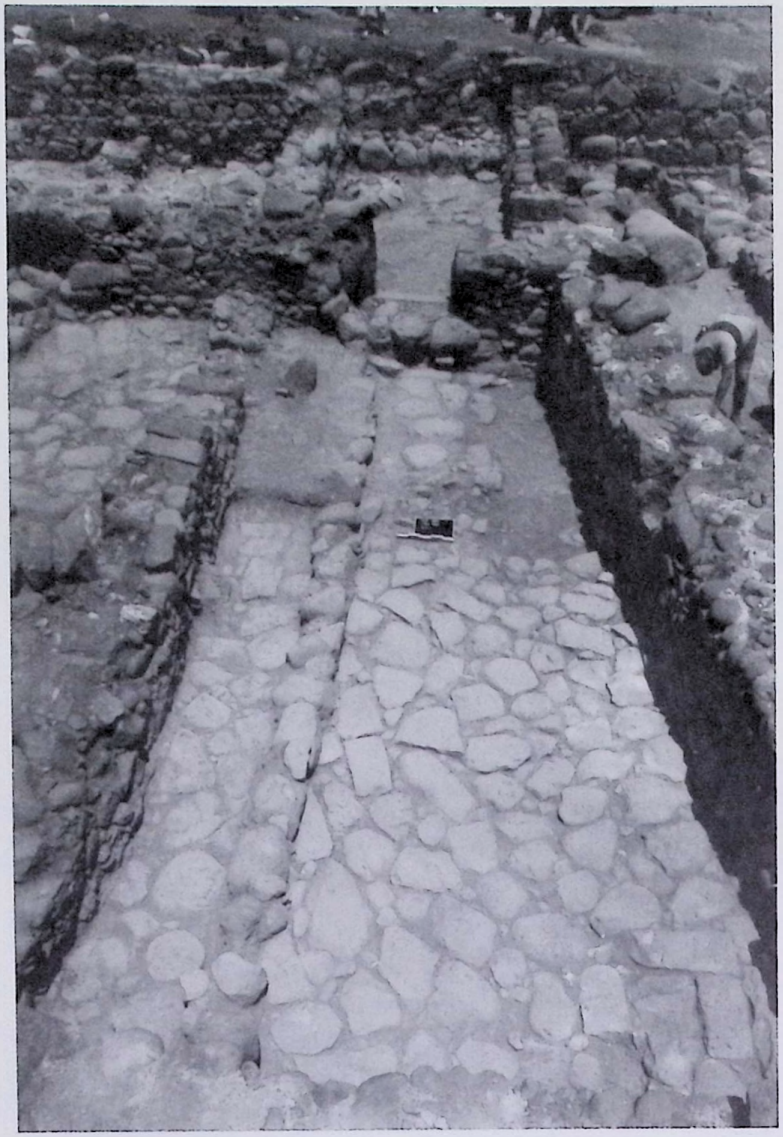


Fig. 29. Area A, Stratum IV: Building A, Room 1, stone pavement beneath which the gold hoard was found, looking south.

the previous floor. In the northern part of the hall below one of the paving stones, an Umayyad hoard of 282 gold dinars came to light (fig. 29). This discovery is indicative of the importance of the house and, moreover, is clear evidence for the dating of Stratum IV. The two central rooms (2 and 3) were generally similar in size. The basalt stone pavement in the northern one (Room 2) is only partially preserved; the southern room (3) has a beaten-earth floor. Both were probably dwelling rooms. A new floor overlaid the earlier one in the western hall (Room 4). The new rooms on the north (5 and 6) enlarged the house, but also disturbed its symmetry and unique character. The new walls (W 204, W 233, and W 111) are of dry construction and were added clumsily onto W 125, which now became an inner wall. The northern limit of the new rooms is as yet unclear, but it may not have been far from the western end of W 111. If indeed so, Room 5 (fig. 30) measured 3 × 5 m. and Room 6, 2 × 5 m. It is unclear whether the narrow and elongated passage between the two rooms, 1 m. wide, was a storage space or a dead-end corridor. Both rooms were paved with basalt stones, laid about 50 cm. above the original floor level. This considerable difference between the levels of the northern and southern floors necessitated two stone steps, as found in each of the two northern entrances. These two rooms (4 on the west, and 5 on the north) may be regarded as independent units, disconnected from the rest of the building (as in Stratum III). There may well have been a second story in the building, as in the previous stratum.

Building B. Only a few remains of Building B are visible on the surface. A new beaten-earth floor overlaid the earlier one, now covering the plastered cistern of the previous level (see fig. 20), located at the southeastern corner of the building. A stone table and an oven in the northeastern corner jut out from the floor.

Building C. Significant changes were made within Building C during this phase, changing the external and

Fig. 30. Area A, Stratum IV: Building A, Room 5, the stone pavement, looking south.

internal character of the structure. A new wall (W 112) was built outside of and adjacent to the original W 214; and W 132 was erected on the north, adjoining the original W 160. These new walls, together with W 215, form a new room (Room 1) north of the earlier building. This room, apparently replacing the water installation of Stratum V, is paved with basalt slabs. A wide opening through W 160 and W 132 connected Room 1 with the older Room 2. The southern opening in W 206 was blocked by a new wall (W 219). Two large *tabuns* were found intact in the eastern part of Room 2, along with an abundance of ashes. With the raising of the floor level, the bottom step of the staircase leading to the second story was covered over. New walls W 112 and W 219 created two new rooms at the southern end of the building (Rooms 3 and 4), where there had been an open courtyard in Stratum V. Room 3 was apparently entered at its southwestern corner, from Street 2. Room 4, enclosed on all sides, most likely served as a storage room, with an entrance from above, descending into it by ladder. With these alterations, the building displays a new general plan, as well as a new function and character. Now only the northern entrance led to Room 1, which possibly served as an enclosed courtyard. The two *tabuns*, both of which functioned concurrently (see fig. 23), may indicate that the room was used as a public bakery. The remaining rooms on the ground floor were for storage or served as shops for bread, while the baker and his family may have dwelt on the second story.

Building D. The only changes in Building D (figs. 31 and 32) in this phase were the addition of W 212 and a new floor. The erection of W 212 created a small room (3) at the southwestern end of the building. This new area, between W 212 and the older W 148, was retained within the house, a sort of dead end. The two entrances through W 227 in the eastern hall were still in use, as was the arch connecting W 216 and W 246. The character of the area east of the building, beyond W 227, is as yet unclear.

Fig. 31. Area A, Stratum IV: Building D, looking south.

Fig. 32. Area A, Stratum IV: Building D, stone debris from earthquake (?) on floor, looking east.

Additional Building Remains. Parts of buildings uncovered south of Buildings C and D include W 252 and W 251—the latter part of a corner of Building E—all located south of Street 2. Noteworthy in this area, awaiting further excavation, are six steps at the western end of W 251, leading from the street directly to the second story of Building E.

All the buildings originating in Stratum V remained in use during this phase, though differing in plan and function. New walls were added, entrances were blocked, and floor-levels were raised. There is a notable degree of clumsiness and degeneration in the quality of construction. All the new walls were built of dry fieldstone masonry. Characteristic of this stratum are the stone pavements, often appearing in the courtyards. There is a new approach to and treatment of the settlement plan, with a significant tendency to utilize open spaces by blocking off streets and buildings, as with Street 3,

running east-west, which went out of use due to new structures. The width of Street 1 was reduced by new construction as well, narrowed from 2.5 m. to 2.0 m. At its northern end it was reduced to a mere 70 cm. The width of Street 2 narrowed from 2.5 m. to 1.5 m. Despite the blocking and narrowing of the streets, special attention was given to ready access to and from the various buildings, such as at the crossing of Streets 1 and 2, which formed a fairly large open space or piazza. South of this square, a new street (Street 4) was paved with basalt slabs (fig. 33). Running down its middle, beneath the paving stones, was a central drainage channel. A public water installation was discovered adjacent to W 232 of Building B and containing a cistern flanked by two stone basins. An adjacent clay pipe drained waste water to the central drainage channel, beneath the stone pavement.[3]

The structures of Stratum IV were probably all destroyed by an earthquake, as is suggested by a huge rock resting upon and blocking Street 1, and by the fallen debris, especially in Building D (see fig. 24).

Stratum III (A.D. 750–850)

The previous occupation stratum was razed and new structures were built over the debris in Stratum III, thus raising the overall height of the settlement by about 1 m. (plan 12). Its general plan and the layout of the buildings are similar to the earlier picture. The most significant changes

[3] Very little is known of town plans and house plans in the period following the Muslim Conquest of Palestine. The archaeological discoveries in the region of the Sea of Galilee have generally been of public buildings. Interesting comparative material has recently come to light at two sites not far from Capernaum: Khorazin and Hamath-Tiberias. At both these sites, entire residential quarters from the period shortly after the Muslim Conquest have been revealed. When the material from these sites is published, the picture of village settlement in Palestine in the Early Arab period will be greatly clarified.

Fig. 33. Area A, Stratum IV: Street 4, looking south. Note socket, cistern, and ceramic drainage.

occur within the newer houses, including the raising of floor levels.

Building A. Building A retains the basic outlines of the previous stratum, though slight changes were made in the northern part, such as a new arrangement of the inner rooms and halls. This building, which previously had eight rooms, was divided into two independent units, an eastern one and a western one, each having separate entrances (fig. 34). The entrances into the eastern unit, both from Street 1, were located at the southern end of W 115 and in new wall (W 107). This unit comprised four rooms (Rooms 1–4). A new floor was laid some 70 cm. above the previous one in Room 1. To the west, two rectangular rooms were separated by W 119. A round stone installation, probably used for cooking and accompanied by a large quantity of ash, was situated in the southwestern corner of Room 2. Another installation, in Room 3, was a pit 1 m. deep, probably having served for storage of wheat and other grain. Traces of plaster are visible in its corners. Room 2 was most likely a kitchen, while Room 3 was for storage. The floors of both rooms are of beaten, yellowish earth. A smaller room in the northern part of the building (Room 4) succeeded Room 6 of the previous level. The floor of this room is of beaten yellowish earth containing an abundance of small sandstone fragments. At the northwestern end of the room, a huge pithos had been set in the floor, probably for storage of some liquid, possibly water (fig. 35). It is likely that this room actually served as an inner courtyard—the large pithos providing the family with cool water. Supporting this view is the existence of a separate entrance here, opening off from Street 1. An opening in the northern wall (W 124) led to the western part of the house. No further architectural remains were exposed beyond the northern end of W 124, which bounded the two units on the north. It is likely, therefore, that a street or open area was left here. The western unit included three rooms (Rooms 5–7). Rooms 5 and 6 formed a single apartment, at least in their western part. The eastern part was divided into two rectangular spaces by partition W 156. Along the western wall (W 220), there was a shelf about 80 cm. wide and some 60 cm. above floor level. This shelf apparently reutilized the top of W 204 of the previous level. Room 7 was the only room within the original limits of Building A. W 158, which bounded it on the south, set it off from the southwestern part of the building.

Fig. 34. Area A, Stratum III: Parts of Building A, at lower right, looking east.

Building B. Significant alterations occurred within Building B at least in the eastern, excavated part. For reasons that are not clear, the eastern part, completely destroyed in Stratum IV, was not rebuilt. Rather, Street 1 was widened and two new walls (W 226 and W 209) were added to the western part of the building. About 50 cm. from the south-eastern corner of Building A, W 209 was probably used as a bench; and W 226 bounded the new Building E to the east.

Fig. 35. Area A, Stratum III: Building A, Room 4, pithos (fig. 61.1) in situ, looking south.

Fig. 36. Area A, Stratum III: Building C, Room 1, tabuns *(ovens) and steps leading to upper story, looking east.*

Building C. Building C, a thick-walled structure, underwent minor changes: W 153 was added to the north, dividing the forecourt of the previous level into two parts. This courtyard may now have gone out of use. W 112, W 218, and W 206 formed a rectangular room, entered from Street 2. The northern room (Room 1) was now blocked, and had no opening after the southern doorway was blocked by a new wall (W 206). There may, however, have been an opening through W 112 and W 214, opposite the staircase; but it is more likely that entrance to this room was through a second story. Two *tabuns*, one large and the other small, were found side-by-side in Room 1, on the east, perhaps indicating that it continued to be used as a bakery (fig. 36).

Building D. Some slight changes now occurred within Building D. W 246 was replaced by a new wall, W 236, and a thicker wall, W 208, was built over the earlier W 212. The

openings in W 227 were blocked up and it is possible that entrance to the room was near the southeastern corner of the building. In the northern room (Room 2), a new floor was laid down.

No additional information was obtained on the structures south of Building D, including Building E of the previous level—all of which continued in use.

The tendency during this period was toward reduction in the size of the buildings, and the creation of smaller, independent dwelling units. The general plan of the settlement is very similar to the previous one. The earlier streets remained in use, and there were efforts to improve them, as in the northern part of Street 1, which was widened significantly by replacing the earlier W 111 with W 107, shifted slightly to the west. The new wall was not aligned with W 115, but rather was set in slightly toward W 125. The southern part of the street was also improved. With the destruction of the previous Building B, the new walls (W 209 and W 226) were also shifted westward, set in from the street and thus widening it significantly. Also, the floor level of Street 2 was raised.

Stratum II (A.D. 850–950)

The architectural scheme during Stratum II changed entirely (plan 13 and fig. 37). Almost all the buildings of the previous levels disappeared, except Building A, which continued to be used only partially. New buildings rose that differed in their tradition of construction, disregarding the remains of the previous level entirely. Seven units replace the former three buildings in Area A, four of which are completely preserved and three only partially.

Building A. The only house that continued to flourish is Building A. Its firm walls were built of ashlars, partly dressed and bonded with mortar. The only rooms now in use were on the east (Rooms 1 and 2). The western part of the building had disappeared under the new structures. Earlier partition W 119 in Room 2 was removed and the two relatively small rooms of the previous level now formed one huge room, as it originally had been in Stratum V. North of Room 1, a new room (3) was added, replacing a similar one of an earlier period (Room 4). Along the eastern part of this room there was a bench or shelf, 60 cm. wide (actually the top of W 107 of the previous level). The northern room, as

Fig. 37. Area A, Stratum II: General view, looking south.

previously, had a separate entrance 1.20 m. wide, opening onto Street 1. Since no traces of a threshold or door were found, this room may actually have been an open forecourt serving Building A. The floors of the three rooms were on the same level.

Building F. Located at the northwestern corner of Building A, Building F comprised three rooms (Rooms 1–3). The northern walls (W 124 and W 136) were new, whereas the other walls (W 125, W 136, W 158, and W 140), which enclosed Room 1, rose above the tops of the walls of the previous level. The location of the entrance to the building is problematic: it was probably at the southern end, through W 158. This wall, belonging to an earlier level, bulges slightly above the floor of Room 1 and if, indeed, there was an entrance, it has not been preserved.

North of Building F, remains of additional structures were exposed, of a width identical to that of Building F. There was no connection between Building F and the adjacent building to the north. It is unclear whether these remains are of Stratum II or of Stratum I. Concerning the stone pavement at its southern corner, there was obviously a 1 m. difference between the floor height of this building and that of Building F. Therefore it may be concluded that these remains—which include W 255, W 249, and W 248, as well as the pavement—do indeed belong to Stratum I.

Building G. Located east of Building A, Building G was erected partially on the area of Building C of Stratum III and partially on the area of Street 2, not in use at that time. The building is square (8 × 8 m.) and does not utilize any of the previously existing walls. Its entrance was at the northwestern corner, at the juncture of W 122 and W 114. The interior is divided into two large, rectangular spaces by a partition wall (W 117), and each of the spaces is further divided into two rooms, thus forming a total of four rooms (Rooms 1–4). Room 1 was probably an inner courtyard, paved with large stone slabs. Room 2 had no opening and, therefore, may have been a storage space, entered by ladder from above. The larger, southern part of the building comprised two rooms, a small one (Room 3, 1.5 × 2.5 m.) and a large one (Room 4, 4.0 × 4.5 m.). All the rooms had beaten-earth floors (except Room 1). An oval stone installation was located in the eastern part of Room 4, adjacent to W 147. (It is not clear whether it belonged to Stratum II or I; its stones were placed immediately on the floor.)

Building H. North of Building G and sharing a common wall with it (W 122), is Building H, a small, rectangular unit (3.5 × 9.5 m.) comprising two rooms (1 and 2). The main entrance was on the west, through W 121, leading into Room 1 (3.0 × 2.5 m.). The back room (2) is larger (4.5 × 2.5 m.). W 154, separating the two rooms, represents the top

Fig. 38. Area A, Stratum II: Building H, tabun *(oven), looking south.*

of W 148 of the previous stratum. A huge *tabun* (1.20 m. in diameter) accompanied by an abundance of ashes was discovered in the southwestern corner of Room 2 (fig. 38). The discovery of a *tabun* in an inner room is unusual, since most family *tabuns* were located in front rooms or in courtyards. Thus, this building may have served as a workshop, or had some public function, probably a bakery. Two large, worked stones were found on the floor of Room 1, possibly serving as "work tables."

Building I. Building I is a small unit (4.5 × 8.0 m.) east of Building G, comprising two rooms (1 and 2) connected by an opening in W 144. The southern part of the building is almost entirely destroyed; it is almost certain, however, that W 135 (which enclosed Building G on the south) continued eastward to enclose Building I as well. The entrance to the building was on the south, through the part of W 135 that no longer exists. The front room (Room 1, 3.5 × 4.0 m.) is larger than Room 2, but both rooms were probably dwelling units.

Buildings J and K. Building J, a large structure, is located east of Buildings H and I. Only its western part and its southern wall (W 202) have been exposed. Building K is another large structure, located north of Buildings A and H; three of its walls have been exposed (W 104, W 105, and W 106). The entrance may have been on the west, through W 106. Only further excavations in these complexes can provide further information.

Stratum III was the last stratum to retain the plan and character of the settlement as defined in Stratum V. Stratum II displays a basic change in plan and in the layout of its various components, involving a new street arrangement. Movement between the houses in this phase was through narrow, curved passages and through public courtyards, three of which have been exposed: Courtyard I at the southern edge of Area A, between Buildings A, G, and H (which opened onto it); Courtyard II, between Buildings H and K; and Courtyard III, west of Building K. Besides these public

Fig. 39. Area A, Stratum I: Surface, looking east.

and communal courtyards, there were private courtyards before several of the buildings, usually paved with stone slabs (as opposed to the earthen floors in the rooms). The different character of the building units in this level was obtained by the replacement of the previous large, spacious buildings (built in most cases of ashlar masonry) by small structures comprising only two or three rooms, with thin, poorly-constructed walls, reflecting a debased building standard. Throughout the excavated area (which extends over ca. 1,000 m^2), more than seven buildings are found, as against the three or four structures of the previous strata. This density of construction was realized at the expense of the diminished public spaces—the piazzas and streets of the previous strata. Thus, the settlement had assumed the character of a Near Eastern village.

Fig. 40. Area A, Stratum I: Surface, looking east.

Stratum I (A.D. 950–1033)

The last occupational stage of the settlement is found in Stratum I; it was exposed throughout the excavated area (plan 14 and figs. 39 and 40). There is no indication of a decrease in the population during this period, though all the evidence points to simple structures reflecting a poor quality of workmanship—in most cases units of only one or two rooms and lacking distinct planning or organization. This latter feature often makes the task of defining the functions of the various units quite difficult. In most cases, existing walls were utilized not only as walls per se but also as foundations; only rarely were new walls built, easily recognized by the fact that their outer faces were built of large stones, whereas their inner faces were built of smaller stones. The clay mortar in most cases has flaked off. Generally, only the outer face of these walls is visible. The remains of this stratum are scanty and poorly preserved, due to the ravages of nature and the use of tractors in farming.

Building A. Building A (2.0 × 2.2 m.) remains among the outstanding features of this area. Its plan still follows the original form. Slight changes were made, for example, formerly interior W 140 now becomes an outer wall. Partition walls, although not preserved, certainly existed. The southeastern part of the hall served as a courtyard, paved with basalt slabs. The remaining spaces, with beaten-earth floors, were dwelling units. At the southern end of W 115 there was a doorway (as in Strata V–II), opening off the narrow, paved courtyard west of the building (fig. 41). The area between

Fig. 41. Area A, Stratum I: Building A, courtyard between Buildings A and G, looking north.

Buildings A and G was enclosed by W 149. It is as yet unclear whether there was an additional entrance to the building.

Building F. Building F is located northwest of Building A. The character of this structure resembles that of the previous stratum It comprises three rooms: Room 1 (2.1 × 3.6 m.), Room 2 (2.7 × 2.8 m.), and Room 3 (3.3 × 3.9 m., the largest of all and actually a courtyard paved with basalt stones). A doorway in W 139 connected Rooms 1 and 2, while another in W 138 connected Rooms 2 and 3. An opening in W 146 led from an as yet unexcavated area to a paved courtyard. All the earlier walls were reused during this period, except for W 138 and W 146.

Building H. Located in the eastern part of the area, Building H comprises a single room (2.8 × 4.3 m.) with a beaten-earth floor. All the walls are new, except for the earlier W 121, through which the open space or courtyard was entered.

Building G. Building G (6.4 × 6.9 m.), in the southeastern part of the area, utilized the earlier W 114, whereas the other walls (W 122, W 147, and W 130) were new. It is almost as large as Building A, opposite. As in the case of Building A, it is impossible to ascertain internal divisions. An entrance is located at the western end of W 122, from an open space shared with Building H.

Building I. Two spaces in Building I have been uncovered, the remainder still await further excavation.

Building K. Building K entirely utilizes earlier walls, but the plan is as yet unclear.

Building L. Located north of Buildings H and I, Building L comprises two units: an open space or courtyard (2.0 × 4.6 m.) with a beaten-earth floor; and a forecourt paved with

basalt slabs, giving access to rooms assumed to be further to the east, in an area as yet unexcavated.

The central area between the buildings was arranged into three open spaces or courtyards. The northern courtyard (II) served Building L, while the southern one (I) was shared by Buildings G and H. These two courtyards were separated by W 108, W 102, and W 103. Several elongated stones of semi-dressed basalt were found at the western end of W 108, systematically arranged; they were probably steps. A pithos for drinking water was found in the southern courtyard (I), serving those entering, a custom still found in modern Arab villages. The paved courtyard between Buildings A and G was entered through an opening in W 130 on the south; it served Building A solely. Thus, the units on the east were entered from the central courtyards, whereas those on the west were entered from the south.

The density of building here resembles that of Stratum II, but is even more pronounced. Most of the earlier structures no longer existed, and the new buildings were somewhat higher than the public spaces, such as the areas occupied by the courtyards of the previous levels. The most significant change is found in Courtyard I, where the entire southern part was blocked by W 149 and now served Building A as a private courtyard. The eastern part of Courtyard II was also closed off (by the construction of W 120) giving it a private character. This crowding may also be indicative of an increase in population during this period, particularly if it is realized that the area of the settlement remained constant; that is, it did not exceed the boundaries of the site as defined already in Stratum V.

THE POTTERY

The pottery discovered at Capernaum is not especially rich or variegated, but it does comprise an important element in the stratigraphic dating of Palestinian pottery in the period following the Muslim Conquest. Actually very few sites of this period have been excavated scientifically, and even fewer have been studied thoroughly, and there are still several rich pottery assemblages of that period that have not yet been published, such as from the excavations at Tiberias and Ḥammat-Gader.

Our study of the pottery from Capernaum could be considered, in a sense, somewhat pioneering as far as the Early Arab material and the transitional stage from the Byzantine to the Early Arab pottery tradition is concerned. The Capernaum pottery has been studied by two of the expedition staff, Michal Peleg and Elizabeth Kessin Berman. Ms. Peleg, in her chapter, traces the development of the local pottery from the end of the Byzantine period down to the 11th century A.D. based on the stratigraphy at Capernaum and on excavations and finds from other sites in Palestine and Transjordan. It is now clear, for instance, that there is a continuity in pottery production from the Byzantine period into the Early Arab period, though several vessel forms do cease to be manufactured. Both the quality of the ware and the vessel design decline, but the Muslim Conquest clearly did not lead to any actual major change in local pottery production. Within this local pottery group we find a ware known as "Khirbet Mefjer Ware." At Capernaum it definitely appears with the Muslim Conquest (in Level IV, the Umayyad level) and it continues down to the end of the Early Arab period. Even so, the appearance of "Mefjer" ware in Palestine remains somewhat problematic. Though such pottery makes its earliest appearance there as imported ware, it subsequently was manufactured locally—beginning in the 8th century A.D., as is indicated, for example, by the finds at Ramla.

The most significant innovation in the pottery of the Early Arab period is the appearance of glazed wares, which come into evidence immediately after the Muslim Conquest. Glazed pottery of Eastern origin is in evidence with the Conquest, as is shown at Capernaum, where it appears already in the Umayyad period. This group of glazed pottery, quite variegated in shapes, glazes, and decoration, developed gradually over the four subsequent centuries of occupation on the site. Elizabeth Kessin Berman, in her study of this material, seeks to draw a clearer general picture of the development of the glazed wares at Capernaum.

It should be noted that Capernaum was a rural town, and not an important cultural center. Therefore, the pottery finds from this site can hardly reflect the full impact of Early Arab culture, but only its development in a rural context.

2

domestic pottery

Michal Peleg

INTRODUCTION

The pottery presented here spreads over a period of some 1100 years, from the early 7th to mid-11th centuries A.D. The sequence represented provides a rare opportunity to follow the development of post-Byzantine pottery—from Late Byzantine times to the eve of the Crusader invasion—at Capernaum and in Galilee in general. This pottery embraces five seasons of excavations on the site and derives from Areas A and C.[1] A study of ceramic assemblages from Area B awaits further excavations. Both Areas A and C display the same variety of ceramic assemblages, corresponding as well to a similar sequence of architectural remains. In Area C, the pottery analyzed comes from one completely excavated building. Examples from Area A belong to several buildings. The five main floor levels found enable five occupational phases to be distinguished, allowing for controlled, sealed loci from which most of the pottery exemplars were chosen. Dated coins and oil lamps accompanying these established phases also aid in dating. Pottery discovered a few centimeters above and below a floor surface has been considered as belonging to a single stratum, along with the pottery within the surface; in other words, the material from immediately above, below, and through a floor surface is considered as a single deposit. This system was applied as there was no significant difference distinguished in the material from these different relative positions.

The chapter deals only with the fine and domestic wares, and excludes the glazed pottery (for which see below, pp. 115–30). The examples presented here were selected from stratified, undisturbed deposits, and rarely from undisturbed fills.

[1] I wish to thank Dr. Vassilios Tzaferis, who made helpful suggestions in the course of writing the manuscript, and Ms. Elizabeth Kessin Berman, who read the manuscript of this chapter and made useful suggestions. Preliminary study of the material from Area C was made by Kessin Berman.

Occasionally unstratified examples are presented in cases where they can be incorporated into a defined group of vessels, as far as basic characteristics are concerned (e.g., the Galilean bowls, or the "Mefjer" ware). Such unstratified examples are certainly a justifiable addition to the repertoire of pottery forms at Capernaum. Very few complete vessels were found.

The discussion follows the traditional classification of pottery vessels, the sequence beginning with the fine imported "Red Ware," followed by open bowl forms and the more closed cups, continuing with the "heavier" basins, kraters, and cooking-pots, and then the closed juglets, jugs, flasks, jars, and pithoi. The "Mefjer" family is then presented, followed by a discussion of the oil lamps.

The earliest stratum at Capernaum—Stratum V—represents the transition from the final Byzantine phase to the Early Arab period, during which several distinguished pottery forms appear. These forms, however, are very few in number and very limited in repertoire, possibly because Stratum V is represented by a very thin occupational layer. During Strata IV (Umayyad) and III (Abbasid), Capernaum displays a prosperity reflected in the broad repertoire of vessel forms and the quantity of material found, as well as in the character of the architectural remains. This prosperity declined toward the later (pre-Crusader) periods, represented by Strata II and I. Although some undisturbed loci were found in Stratum I, the absence or sparseness of pottery groups there may be ascribed to the poor preservation of the remains of this final phase on the site, situated almost directly beneath the surface.

Few sites in Israel have produced so continuous a ceramic record of occupation, from the time of the Arab Conquest to the Crusades. Other sites generally reflect single-period material (e.g., the Byzantine period) or a limited sequence (Umayyad-Abbasid-Fatimid) within the Arab period. The parallels cited here are limited to published material. Most of the comparative material is from northern sites, from Jerusalem and its vicinity, and from Transjordan; very few examples are from the southern region of Palestine.

Not all drawn examples are from stratified contexts, but are ascribed to strata on the basis of analogy. Those from undisturbed loci are designated by italicized stratum ascriptions (e.g., "*III*"); examples ascribed to strata by analogy are denoted by plain stratum ascriptions (e.g., "III"). In certain cases, a locus number may be ascribed to more than one stratum; in such cases, the examples have been ascribed to strata on the basis of context, typology, and findspot height. Color readings are based on *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (Baltimore, 1975).

The pottery from Capernaum does not produce a complete picture of the forms, shapes, and decoration used during the periods represented there; but it does provide a view of pottery production and development over a period of 400 years.

LATE ROMAN POTTERY
(Figure 42.1-51; plates 2a, 6a, 6b)

This group of table wares comprises bowls or wide dishes, shallow or deep, with flaring or rounded walls, and is characterized by a well-levigated red fabric, relatively free of impurities and usually fired at an even temperature. The bowls are finished with a thin slip (which usually fused with the body clay). Occasionally, the pieces are burnished and often they have a metallic quality. The decoration consists mostly of rouletting on the exterior body or rim and often of wavy bands. Also common are stamped patterns. The different forms, collectively referred to as "Late Roman Ware," were current throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Western Empire, from the 2d to 7th centuries A.D. (Hayes 1972: 1-8; 414-27; distribution maps, 453-64; Hayes 1980, for additional data). Table 1 shows the various forms side-by-side, with their stratigraphic distribution.

TABLE 1. Distribution of Late Roman Ware

Ware	*Stratum* V	IV
African Red Slip		
Form 78		●
Form 99:A	●	
Form 104	●	●
Form 107	●	●
Late Roman C'		
Form 3	●	●
Form 5	●	
Form 10	●	
Late Roman D'		
Form 1	●	●
Form 2	●	●
Form 9	●	●

The examples of Late Roman Ware found at Capernaum represent three of the families categorized by Hayes (whose terminology is adopted in this study, thus avoiding here the need to describe each form and its characteristics). Each family is divided into sub-groups, which may represent several production centers in a single region and a variety of manufacturing techniques leading to different fabrics and shapes (cf. e.g., Hayes 1972: 288, 369; Meyers et al. 1981: 130).

The first group is "African Red Slip Ware," produced in North African workshops (Hayes 1972: 13-299; Hayes 1980: 484-523). Capernaum examples included in this group are fragments of bowls, related to Hayes's Form 78 (fig. 42.1). Other sherds are similar to Form 99: A (fig. 42.2). More common[2] are Form 104: A, B, C (figs. 42.3-5), and Form 107 (fig. 42.6).

[2] Reference to a group of pottery as being "more common" or "more abundant" in a certain phase is made on the basis of rim sherd counting.

The second group—the most common at Capernaum—is Late Roman C' Ware (Hayes 1972: 323-70); Hayes would suggest renaming this group "Phocaean Red Slip Ware" on the basis of the conjectured site of manufacture in Western Turkey (1980: 525-26; for earlier views, see 1972: 368-70). The most popular type at Capernaum is that categorized by Hayes as Form 3 (1972: 329-38). Our examples represent a fairly broad variety of shapes, distinguished mainly by the moulding of the rim. At present there are insufficient data to establish a typological development within this group, although Hayes seeks to trace the progressive shortening and thickening of the rim and an increase in the overhang at the bottom (1972: 329). The sub-groups at Capernaum consist of an elongated, flanged rim profile (fig. 42.7, 8); a medium-size flanged rim—everted, flat, or round (fig. 42.9-14); short, squat rim—everted, flat, or round (fig. 42.15-19); and a "triangular" rim (fig. 42.20). Two unique examples display a peculiar profile: the first (fig. 42.21) is a rather open bowl with elongated flange and a distinct overhang below, "shrinking" inward (as opposed to the "open" overhang and flange of the previous examples); the second bowl (fig. 42.22) has a beak-like, rounded, flanged rim profile, and overhang below. To this group are added two low-footed bases (fig. 42.23, 24). Other types are Form 5: A (fig. 42.25) and Form 10: A, B (fig. 42.26, 27). The latter, which appears in a relative abundance, also has a low-footed base version (fig. 42.28).

The third group of "Cypriot Red Slip Ware" (Hayes 1972: 371-86; also referred to as "Late Roman D' Ware") is less common at Capernaum than Late Roman C' Ware and was probably made somewhere in Cyprus (Hayes 1972: 371). Included in this family are examples of Form 1 (fig. 42.29-32) and Form 2 (fig. 42.33-44). The latter is the most common form of all, and can be divided into sub-groups distinguished mainly by the moulding of the rim or, at times, by quality of the ware and shape of the bowl. The bowl illustrated in fig. 42.38 is unique in the extremely shallow grooves on its rim.

[*text continues on p. 42*]

Figure 42. Late Roman Ware

No.	Basket	Locus	Stratum/ Height	Square	Surface/Slip Munsell	Fracture Munsell	Ware	Related Forms
African Red Slip Ware								
FORM 78								
1.	2237/12	Wall 213, courtyard I	IV	D/7	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	5YR 7/8 (reddish yellow)	Metallic; tiny white grits; uniform color	Hayes 1972: 127, fig. 22
FORM 99:A								
2.	1211/4	728 plastered floor at 202.08	*V*, 201.99–202.00	Area C	2.5YR 5/8 (red)	2.5YR 6/8 (light red)	Smooth surface; glossy slip; thin walls; white and black grits	Hayes 1972: 152–55, fig. 28: 12
FORM 104:A								
3.	2177/11	1036, street 1, floor at 198.45 (south)	*IV*, 198.23–198.41	C–D/6–7	10YR 6/6 (light red)	2.5YR 5/8 (red)	Coarse ware; clean ware; thick walls; flecked rim	Hayes 1972: 160–66, fig. 30; *Cafarnao* II; 72, fig. 21: 11, Tipo TS 11
FORM 104:B								
4.	2104/33	1036, street 1, floor at 198.30 (north)	V, *IV*, 197.87–198.22	C–D/6–7	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thick ware; black grits; black core; rim and surface flecked	Hayes 1972: 160–66, fig. 30; Smith 1973: 222, plate 42:1309; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 31–32, plate 52: 58ff.; Baly 1962: 272–73, 289, plate XLIX (shape 24); *Cafarnao* II: 172, fig. 21: 12, Tipo TS 11; Loffreda 1983: 367, fig. 13: 2
FORM 104:C								
5.	1906/4	898, courtyard 1	IV	C/7	10YR 5/8 (red)	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	Small white grits; uniform color	
FORM 107								
6.	2127/6	1036, street 1, floor at 198.30 (north)	V, *IV*, 197.87–198.23	C–D/6–7	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Uniform color; tiny black grits	Hayes 1972: 171, fig. 33; *Cafarnao* II: 73, fig. 17: 23, Tipo TS 15; Prausnitz et al. 1967: 41–43, fig. 13: 3
Late Roman C' Ware								
FORM 3								
7.	2304/9	1079, building D, room 2, floor at 199.05	*V*, 198.93–199.05	B–C/8–9	2.5YR 6/8 (light red); rim: 2.5YR 5/6 (red)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Metallic; white grits; rouletting on rim	(*Form 3*:) Hayes 1972: 329–38, figs. 67–69; Meyers et al. 1981: 129–32, plates 8.29:5ff., 8.30, TS Type 1; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 31–32, plate 52:8f.;

Figure 42, continued

No.	Basket	Locus	Stratum/ Height	Square	Surface/Slip Munsell	Fracture Munsell	Ware	Related Forms
8.	2245/2	1059, building D, room 2, floor at 198.93	V, 198.68–198.77	C/9	2.5YR 5/8 (red); rim interior: 2.5YR 3/6 (dark red); rim exterior: 5YR 2.5/1 (black)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Metallic; clean, sharp breaks; thin walls; exterior rim reduced; white and black grits; rouletting on rim	Landgraf 1980: 51–67, fig. 14a; Bagatti 1969: 290–92, figs. 227:9, 228:1–4; Baly 1962: 288, plate XLVIII (shape 14); *Samaria* III: 358–61, fig. 84: 11ff.; Meyers et al. 1976: 235–36, plate 7.23:2–4; Aharoni 1964: 14–17, fig. 22: 25; *Cafarnao* II: 70–71, fig. 18: 15–19, Tipo TS 9; Loffreda 1979: 216–17, fig. 1: 1ff.; Loffreda 1983: 366, fig. 11: 9; Tzaferis 1975: 26–27, plate 12:2, 3 (Type 2); Tzaferis 1980: 73, fig. 3: 7; Tushingham 1972: 75, 152, fig. 11: 1ff.; Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978: 73, fig. 8: 7; Corbo 1955: 70–71, fig. 22; Birger 1981: 76, plate 13: 13–16
9.	531/2	103, north of building K	IV	A/5	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	Metallic; thin ware; white and black grits	
10.	2071/1	1030. building A, room 5 (pit)	V 197.75–197.94	C/5	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Uniform color; white and black grits; porous	
11.	2166/5	1047, street 2 (baulk)	IV	D/8–9	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Thin walls; clean ware; metallic; uniform color; short strokes of triple rouletting	
12.	1221/4	728, plastered floor at 202.08	V, 201.99–202.00	Area C	10YR 5/6 (red)	10YR 5/6 (red)	Metallic; sharp breaks; black and white grits; discolored rim	

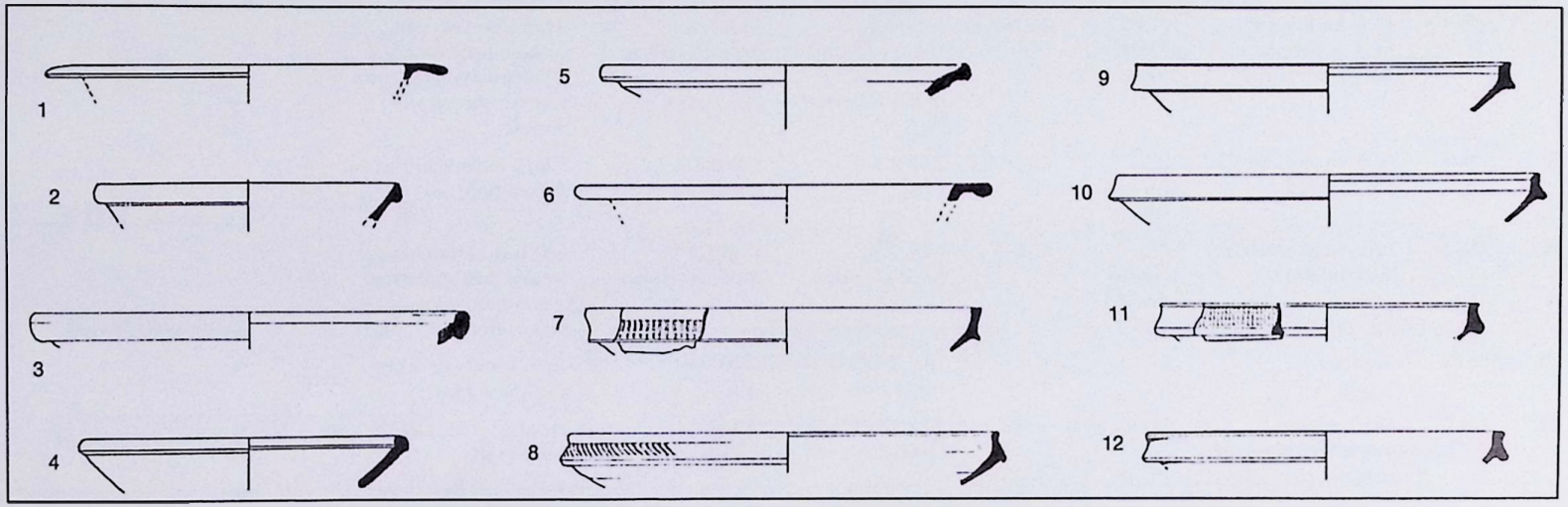


Figure 42, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
13.	1220/3	733, plastered floor at 202.08	*I'*, 201.98–202.08	Area C	2.5YR 5/8 (red)	10YR 6/8 (light red)	Metallic; thin walls; sharp, clean breaks; white and black grits; rouletting on rim	
14.	1852/1	883, building D, room 1	IV	C–D/8–9	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Thin ware; uniform; white grits	
15.	2001/2	1000, building A, room 1	IV, 197.94–198.27	D–E/6	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Thin walls, uniform; white grits; triple rouletting (ovoids)	
16.	2039/6	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*II'*, V, 198.31–198.62	D–E/6	2.5YR 6/8 (light red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Thin ware; uniform; rouletting on rim	
17.	531/3	103, north of building K	IV, V	A/5	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	Thin ware; uniform; white and black grits; rim discolored	
18.	1205/21	728, plastered floor at 202.08	*I'*, 201.99–202.00	Area C	10YR 5/8 (red)	10YR 5/6 (red)	Thin ware; white and black grits	
19.	1908/7	898, courtyard 1	IV	C/7	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	2.5YR 6/8 (light red)	Metallic; thin ware; uniform; white grits	
20.	2098/15	1006, building D, room 1, floor at 198.85	*I'*, 198.60–198.85	C–D/8–9	5YR 6/8 (light red) slip: 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 7/8 (reddish yellow)	Thin ware; smooth surface; tiny black and white grits; sharp, clean breaks; exterior rim flecked	
21.	2127/5	1036, street 1, floor at 198.30 (north)	*II'*, 197.87–198.23	C–D/6–7	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thick walls; white grits; flecked rim	
22.	2286/2	1075, street 3 cistern, floor at 198.23	*I'*, 198.23–198.30	C/6–7	5YR 7/8 (reddish yellow)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Soft ware; clean, sharp breaks; thin walls; tiny white grits; traces of slip; flecked rim	
23.	2020/8	Wall 201	IV	C/9	slip: 2.5YR 7/4 (light red)	5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thin ware; tiny white and black grits	
24.	1830/3	893, building A, room 2, bench removal	*II'*, 197.51–197.88	D/5	slip: 2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 7/4 (pink)	Metallic; thin ware; tiny white grits	

Figure 42, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
FORM 5								
25.	2213/9	1036a, street 1, plastered floor at 198.63	*V*, 198.44–198.57	D/6–7	10 R 4/6 (red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Soft, clean ware; coarse breaks; edge of rim flecked	Hayes 1972: 339, fig. 70:1; Loffreda 1979: 217, fig. 1: 21
FORM 10								
26.	2239/2	1063, building A, room 1, floor at 198.97 (south)	*V*, 198.73–198.97	E/6	10 R 5/6 (red)	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	Uniform; tiny white grits	(*Form 10:*) Hayes 1972: 343–46, fig. 71; Landgraf 1980: 51–67, fig. 14a; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 31–32, plate 52: 41ff.; Smith 1973: 222, plate 43: 1244; Aharoni 1962: 4, fig. 3: 8; Ben-Tor et al. 1979: 80, fig. 7: 2; *Samaria* III: 357–61, fig. 84: 23; Tzaferis 1983: 31–32, fig. 4: 5ff.; *Cafarnao* II: 171, fig. 18: 20–22, Tipo TS 10; Loffreda 1983: 366–67, figs. 11: 10, 13: 6
27.	533/10	102, street 1, drain	*V*	C/6–7	5YR 4/2 (dark reddish gray)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Thick walls, uniform; tiny black grits	
28.	533/13	102, street 1, drain	*V*	C/6–7	slip: 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	Tiny white grits; discolored surface and rim	

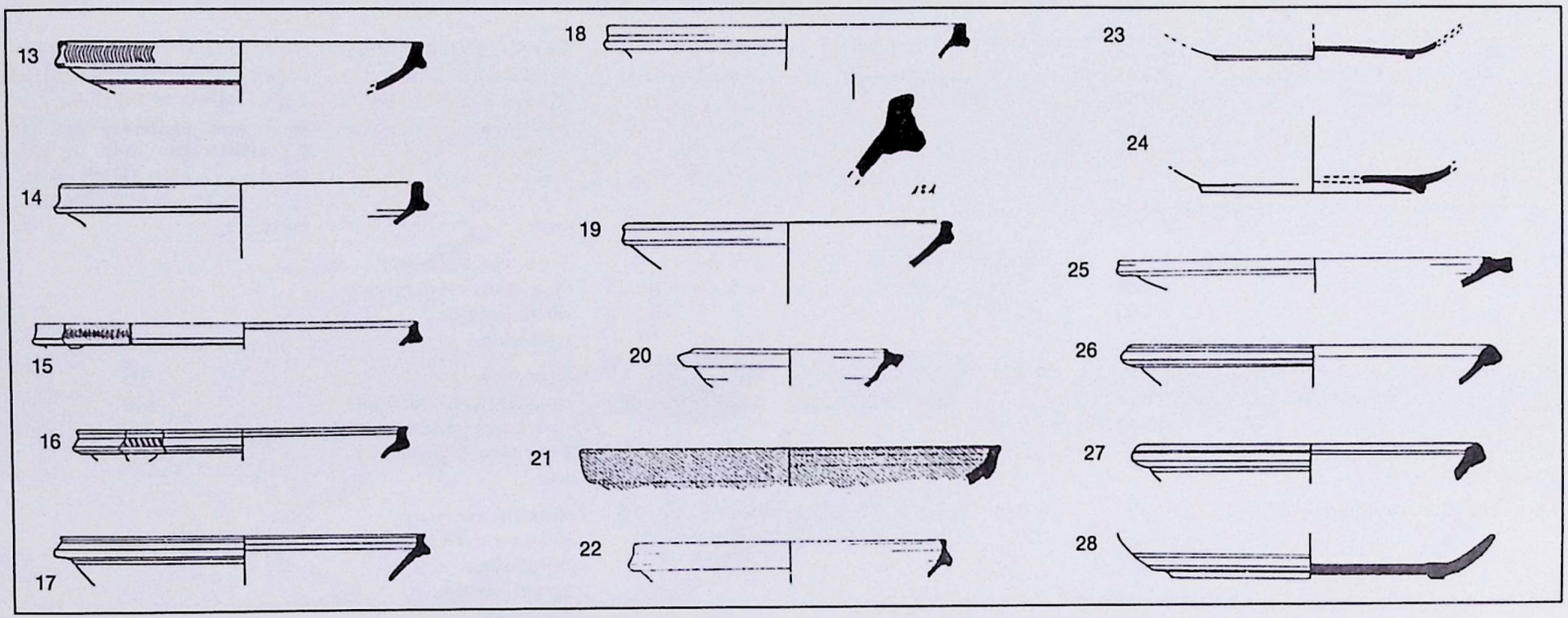


Figure 42, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Late Roman D' Ware								
FORM 1								
29.	2212/7	1058, building A, room 4	IV	C/5	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Tiny black grits; slipped; flecked rim	Hayes 1972: 372–73, fig. 80; Meyers et al. 1981: 132–33, plates 8.29: 1–2; 8.31: 1ff.—TS Type 2.1
30.	2040/7	1005, east of building D	V, IV	C/11	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	Clean ware; slip; flecked rim and exterior surface	Yeivin 1973: 151, fig. 8: 7; *Cafarnao* II: 68, fig. 18: 1–14, Tipo TS 5; Tzaferis 1983: 31–32, fig. 4: 5–12; Bagatti 1969: 290, fig. 227: 6
31.	1220/2	733, plastered floor at 201.08	*V*, 201.98–202.08	Area C	5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 4/2 (dark reddish gray)	Metallic; sharp, clean breaks; slip; rim reduced	
32.	2126/10	1014a, building A, room 6, pavement at 198.12	*IV*, 198.02–198.16	C–D/5–6	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Metallic; uniform; slip	
FORM 2								
33.	2213/5	1036a, street 1, plastered floor at 198.63	*V*, 198.44–198.57	D/6–7	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Metallic; soft ware; sharp breaks; white grits; exterior surface flecked; rouletting	Hayes 1972: 373–76, fig. 80; *Cafarnao* II: 70, fig. 19: 1–5, Tipo TS 7; Loffreda 1979: 217, fig. 1: 15–20; Loffreda 1983: 366, fig. 11: 6; Landgraf 1980: 51–67, fig. 15; Meyers et al. 1981: 132–34, plate 31: 18, TS Type 2.2; Yeivin 1973: 151, fig. 8:11
34.	1205/23	728, plastered floor at 202.08	*V*, 201.99–202.00	Area C	10 R 5/6 (red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	White and black grits; slip; sharp, clean breaks; discolored rim; rouletting	
35.	2164/1	1050, building C, room 1, floor at 198.07	V, *IV*, 198.07–198.32	B–C/7	2.5YR 3/6 (dark red)	5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	Thin, clean ware; metallic; surface and rim discolored; rouletting; three narrow grooves on rim	
36.	2166/2	1047, street 2 (baulk)	V, IV	D/8–9	2.5YR 3/6 (dark red)	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	Metallic; thin ware; clean ware; flecked rim; two shallow, wide grooves on rim; rouletting	

Figure 42, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
37.	1852/2	883, building D, room 1	IV	C-D/8-9	2.5YR 3/6 (dark red)	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	Thick walls; white grits; two grooves on rim; discolored rim; rouletting	
38.	1931/3	896, street 1 (south)	IV	E/7	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	7/5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Tiny white grits; discolored rim; elongated strokes of rouletting	
39.	1883/2	903, building C, room 1, floor at 198.16	*IV*, 198.16-198.25	B-C/7	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	7/5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Black grits; slip; rim and surface flecked; rouletting; three deep grooves on rim	
40.	532/5	102, street 1, drain	*V*	C/6-7	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	Thick ware; white grits; discolored rim; two deep grooves on rim; rouletting	

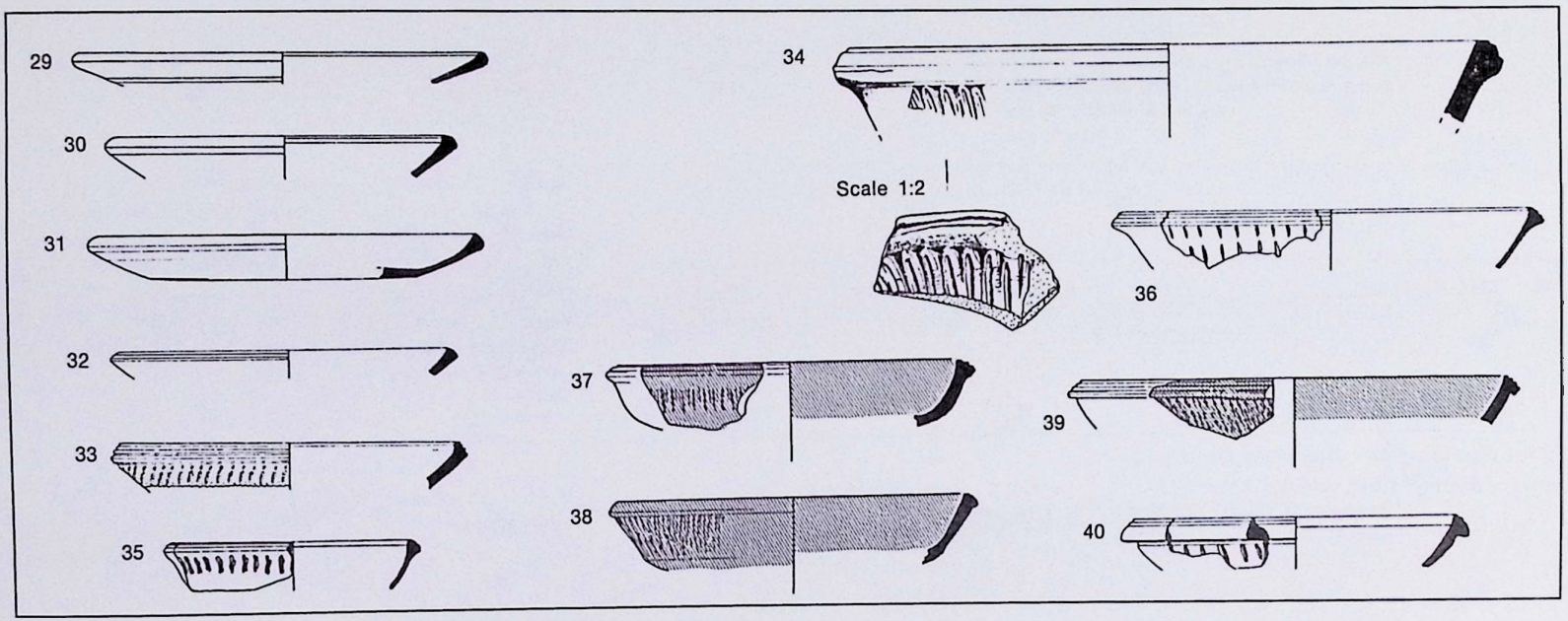


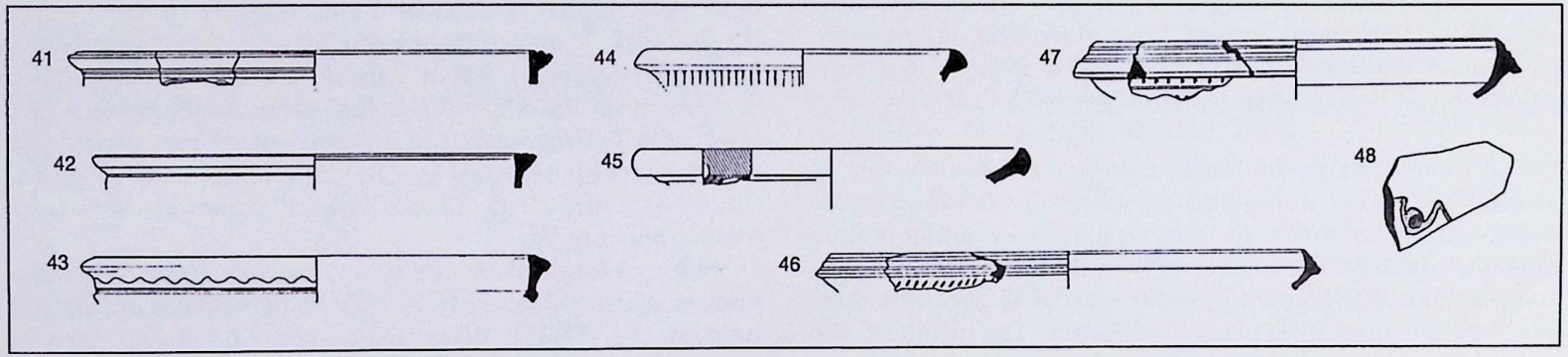
Figure 42, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
41.	520/12	101, courtyard 1	V	C/5–6	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Metallic; thin ware; black grits; discolored rim; two very deep grooves evenly set on rim; wavy decoration	
42.	2006/9	1005, east of building D	V, IV	C/11	5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Black grits; rim and exterior surface discolored; two evenly set grooves on rim	
43.	2286/1	1075, street 3, cistern, floor at 198.23	*V*, 198.23–198.30	C/6–7	Interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); exterior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Metallic; thick and clean ware; rim and exterior flecked; single deep groove on rim; wavy decoration	
44.	1645/17	847, building A, room 3 (pit)	IV	E/5–6	10YR 4/1 (dark gray)	10YR 6/2 (light brownish gray)	Clean ware; reduced rim; rouletting	
FORM 9:A								
45.	1827/12	891, building A, room 5, pavement at 197.89	V, *IV*, 197.85–197.89	C–D/4–5	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thick and clean ware; rim flecked and discolored; rouletting	Hayes 1972: 379–82, fig. 81; Landgraf 1980: 51–67, fig. 15
FORM 9:C								
46.	2036/5	1016, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.19 (east)	*IV*, 197.92–198.13	D/5	5YR 2.5/1 (black)	5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	Metallic; white and black grits; rouletting; three shallow grooves on rim	Hayes 1972: 379–82, fig. 82; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 31–32, plate 52: 32ff.; *Cafarnao* II: 70, fig. 19: 9, Tipo TS 8
47.	2006/4	1005, east of building D	V	C/11	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	Thick ware; rim and exterior surface flecked; white grits; rouletting (dots); two deep grooves on rim	
Late Roman Ware: Stamped Decoration								
48.	2198/4	1048, street 1, pavement at 198.40 (south)	*IV*, 198.37–198.45	D–E/7	slip: 2.5YR 4/8 (red)	5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thin ware; metallic; white grits	

Figure 42, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
49.[a]	1647/2	834, street 1	IV	E/6–7	slip: 2.5YR 4/6 (red)	5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thin ware; metallic; white grits; cross motif	(*Cross Motif:*) Delougaz and Haines 1960: plate 31: 5, 6, 10; *Cafarnao* II: figs. 23: 15–17; 24: 1–9; 26: 8, 13; 27: 3, 4, 8; fotos 21, 22: 1, 2; Landgraf 1980: 55, fig. 14b; Meyers et al. 1981: 136, plate 8.31: 33; Prausnitz et al. 1967: 41–43, fig. 13: 11, plate XXIIc, d; Aharoni 1964: 15, fig. 22: 25, 26
50.[b]	2152/23	1036a, street 1, drain	*V*	D/6–7	Interior: 5YR 3/4 (dark reddish brown); exterior: 5YR 3/2 (dark reddish brown)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Thick, hard fired ware; sharp breaks; tiny white grits; trefoil motif	
51.[c]	2227/19	1059, building D, room 2, floor at 198.93	V, 198.24–198.60	C/9	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	Thick, hard fired ware; metallic; sharp breaks; black grits; almond-shaped motif with double outline enclosing row of dots	

[a] Not illustrated in figure; see plate 2a. [b] Not illustrated in figure; see plate 6a. [c] Not illustrated in figure; see plate 6b.



Bowls related to Form 9: A, C (fig. 42.45–47) have also been found at Capernaum.

The Late Roman Ware is further represented by several fragments of stamped decoration (fig. 42.48; plates 2a, 6a, 6b; Hayes 1972: 346–68).

Late Roman Ware has generally been viewed as Byzantine, disappearing toward the end of the 7th century A.D. The Persian and Arab Conquests are usually regarded as the reason for this disappearance (Hayes 1972: 427). The ware is widespread and is well attested in Late Roman and Byzantine deposits in the country (for example, Rama, Capernaum, Khirbet Shemaᶜ, Meiron, Shepherds' Fields, Caesarea, Tell Keisan, Nazareth, and Tel Yoqneam). At sites (such as Kursi) reflecting a partial historical sequence similar to that of Capernaum, this ware appears up to the end of the 7th century A.D.

The group appears at the Negev site of Nessana, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, in Galilee, and in other northern areas of Palestine. It also appears in the surrounding regions, such as Transjordan, Syria, and Egypt (for the complete distribution, see Hayes 1972: 296–99; 368–69; 385–86; 453–64; Hayes 1980).

The Red Ware group has come to light at Capernaum in Strata V and IV. In both these phases, it appears in abundance and in a wide variety of forms. It is uncertain, however, when exactly the family ceased to be produced.

BOWLS
(Figure 43.1–33)

The assemblage of bowls displays a wide variety of shapes and sizes, wares and decorations. The bowls are mostly of red and buff ware, although a few examples of gray ware also appear. The quality of the ware ranges from soft to hard, and from smooth to porous, and it is generally tempered with white and black inclusions. The walls of the bowls range from 2 to 10 mm. in thickness, with a special group of thin-walled bowls, having walls averaging 2 to 4 mm. in thickness. A unique group is the light ware group of bowls, with walls ranging from 3 to 7 mm. in thickness. Table 2 shows the distribution of these bowls by strata.

In Stratum V—the transitional phase—several forms may be viewed as distinct types, absent at Capernaum subsequent to this phase. These include a bowl with a thickened, flat rim profile (fig. 43.3) projecting outward, with wide-set ribbing on the exterior of the body. The deep bowls with flaring or almost straight walls and "squarish" rim (fig. 43.7, 8) are recorded already as Late Roman/Early Byzantine (at Capernaum, *Cafarnao* II: 53) but have also been regarded as an Arab type (e.g., at Khirbet Nitla, Kelso and Baramki 1955: 38). The hemispherical bowl (fig. 43.11) with ledged rim profile and combed decoration on the body is well attested in Palestine and is generally regarded as a Byzantine form (e.g., at Jerusalem, Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 77–79; at Siyar el-Ghanam, Corbo 1955: 59, 66; at Ramat Raḥel, Aharoni 1962: 4; at Herodium, Birger 1981: 76). A bowl (fig. 43.15) with flanged rim profile and interior burnishing also belongs to this phase; it is reminiscent, at least in rim profile, of Late Roman C′ Ware, Form 3. Another bowl of this phase (fig. 43.20) is thin-walled, having flaring sides with a rounding on the upper part of the body and a grooved rim.

In Stratum IV—the Umayyad period—there is a bowl type with elongated, thickened rim, slightly inverted at the lip (fig. 43.1), flattened on the outside. Another example of a hemispherical bowl has a ledged rim bearing an incised decoration on the rim interior (fig. 43.9). A similar form is a bowl with flaring walls and a short, ledged rim profile (fig. 43.10), generally regarded as a Byzantine form (e.g., at Khorazin, Yeivin 1973: 151). These "ledged" bowls are very common in Stratum IV.

Also of Stratum IV is a bowl having a round body and narrow, flaring rim, with an incised decoration on the rim interior (fig. 43.13). Some thin-walled bowls are also of

TABLE 2. Distribution of Bowls

	Stratum				
Nos.	V	IV	III	II	I
1		■			
2					■
3	■				
4				■	■
5					■
6			■		
7	■				
8	■				
9		■			
10		■			
11	■				
12			■		
13		■			
14			■		
15	■				
16		■			
17		■			
18			■		
19		■			
20	■				
21		■			
22					■
23				■	
24				■	■
25				■	
26					■
27				■	
28					■
29		■			
30				■	
31		■			
32					■
33					■

this phase, and several examples are known already in Roman contexts (e.g., at Rama, Capernaum, Meiron, Khirbet Shema^{c}). Our examples include a round bowl with plain, inverted rim (fig. 43.16), a bowl with almost straight walls and tapered rim (fig. 43.19), and a hemispherical bowl having an everted rim folded downward, with a light painted decoration on the rim interior (fig. 43.21). A very common form has a slightly rounded body (fig. 43.17) with tapered rim profile and two shallow grooves at the transition to the lower part of the body; it appears to have been collared at the bottom of the body. A wavy, shallow incised band or undulating line, of burnished appearance (Smith 1973: 222)—a hallmark of this group, and probably made with a blunt point (Hamilton 1944: 13)—adorns the exterior of the body. The ware is metallic and the walls are thin. This form appears already in Byzantine contexts (e.g., at Siyar el-Ghanam, Herodium) and as a transitional type (e.g., at Yoqneam, Nebo, and Ramat Raḥel); it was regarded as an Early Arab form (7th–8th centuries A.D.) at Nitla, Bethany, and Khirbet Mefjer. The exterior surface is thinly slipped in the same color as the body clay.

Types of this bowl not present at Capernaum include those slipped inside and out (e.g., at Dhiban, Tushingham 1972: 152, fig. 10: 78–81; Ramat Raḥel, Aharoni 1964: plate 22: 14). The absence or presence of painted decoration might be significant for dating, as held, e.g., by Baly (1962: 278–79), who posits that painted forms are later than unpainted. It is also possible that the slight differences in shape represent a developmental feature, and indeed Smith (1973: 222) has pointed to such a trend from the Byzantine forms to a coarser, collared form in the Umayyad period (for a detailed discussion, see Gichon 1974: 119–39).

In Stratum III—the Abbasid period—there is an open bowl with flaring walls and a simple, slightly thickened flat rim (fig. 43.6); a hemispherical bowl with a ledged rim (a profile common in Stratum IV), incised on the rim interior (fig. 43.12); variations, regarded as Byzantine, appear at

[*text continues on p. 49*]

Figure 43. Bowls

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	1910/3	908, building C, room 2, floor at 198.31 (west)	*II'*, 198.23–198.34	C/7	5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	5 YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	Black and white grits; sandpaper-like surface; coarse breaks	
2.	1630/5	801, building L, pavement at 197.01	*I*, 196.94–197.26	B–C/7	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); core: 5Y 4/1 (dark gray)	Black and white grits; porous surface	
3.	2322	1084, building D, room 2, plastered floor at 199.05	*V*, 199.05–199.20	C/8–9	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	black and white grits; uneven, coarse breaks	
4.	1615/3	820, building G, room 2, floor at 197.47	*II*, I, 197.48–197.58	C–D/8	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Soft ware; smooth surface; black and white grits	
5.	1599/11	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 196.67–196.91	C/4	7.5 R 3/0 (very dark gray)	10YR 5/1 (gray)	White grits; coarse breaks; sandpaper-like surface	Smith 1973: 232, plate 30, no. 1157
6.	508/10	102, courtyard 2	III	C/6–7	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 7/4 (pink)	Hard fired ware; tiny black and white grits	
7.	2121/1	1034, building C, room 2, pavement at 198.89 (east)	*V*, 198.77–198.89	C/7	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; sandpaper-like surface; white grits	
8.	2213/3	1036a, street 1, plastered floor at 198.63	*V*, 198.44–198.57	D/6–7	7.5YR 5/2 (brown)	7.5YR 5/2 (brown)	Coarse, uneven breaks; large black grits; metal repair	*Cafarnao* II: 53, fig. 12: 3, 4, Tipo C12a; Kelso and Baramki 1955: 38, plate 29: Y 28, Type 35
9.	1858/14	898, courtyard 1	IV	C/7	10YR 3/1 (very dark gray)	2.5Y 7/2 (light gray)	Hard fired ware; thick walls, tiny black grits; incised decoration on rim	
10.	2065/2	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.62	D–E/6	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Many white grits; coarse, uneven breaks, porous surface	Yeivin 1973: 151, fig. 8:19 ("small basin," not alike, but of same family)
11.	2359/3	1069, building B, inside oven on floor at 198.74	*V*, 198.44–198.81	E/7	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow); core: 7.5YR 5/0	Very soft ware; sharp breaks; tiny white grits	Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 77–79, plate XIII: 28; Corbo 1955: 66, fig. 19: 15, 16 ("basin"); Saller 1957: 275, fig. 52, nos. 2571–73; Aharoni 1962: 4, fig. 3: 11; Birger 1981: 76, plate 13: 7

Figure 43, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
12.	1601/4	835, building A, room 3, floor at 197.74	*III*, 197.74–197.85	E/5	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)); core: 2.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray)	Coarse ware; white grits	Tushingham 1972: 137, fig. 5: 36, 37
13.	2200/9	1028, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.57	*IV*, 198.31–198.48	D/6	10YR 8/2 (white); 10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	10YR 8/4 (very pale brown)	Soft ware; tiny white grits; short incised lines on rim	

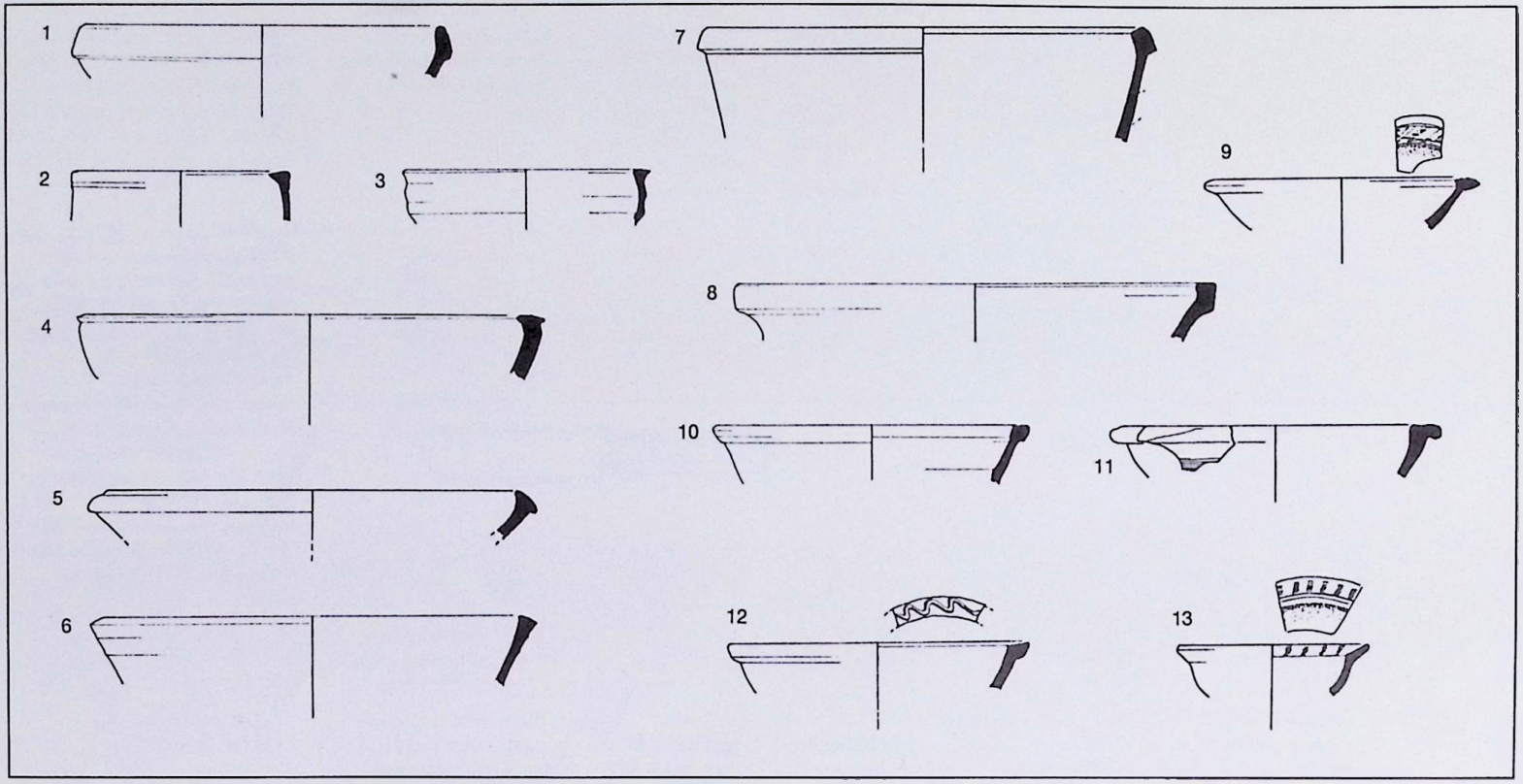


Figure 43, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
14.	1845/2	896 street 1 (south)	III	E/7	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Black and white grits; rouletting; thick walls	
15.	2230/2	1064, street 2, pebble floor at 198.67	*V*, 198.37–198.66	D/7	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	Soft ware; burnished	
16.	2100/1	1027, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.31	*IV*, 198.26	D–E/5	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Thin ware; sharp, clean breaks; many tiny white grits	
17.	1941/5	872, building A, room 4	IV	C/6	5YR 6/6 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown); core: 5YR 7/4 (pink); slip: 5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thin walls; hard fired ware; sharp, clean breaks; black and white grits; metallic	Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 72, 79, 81–82, fig. 17 middle; plates XIV: 15, XV: 10; Fitzgerald 1931: 38, plate XXXIII: 16; Baramki 1944: 68, 74, fig. 6: 17, plate XXI: 8, Ware 10; Hamilton 1944: 12–14, fig. 8: 3; Schneider 1950: 110–18, fig. 13: 4, 7, plate 156: 10; Corbo 1955: 71–73, fig. 23: 6, 13, 17, 18; Kelso and Baramki 1955: 38, plate 29: N 49, Type 40; Saller 1957: 270, fig. 53, no. 3835; *Samaria* III; 363, fig. 84a: 2; Baly 1962: 270, 278–79, 290, plate L:A: 3, shape 35; Aharoni 1962: 4, fig. 3: 5; Aharoni 1964: 15, fig. 22: 14; Winnet and Reed 1964: 25, plate 15: 6; Tushingham 1972: 52, 76, fig. 10: 78–79; McNicoll et al. 1982: 222, plate 28, no. 1233; Ben-Tor et al. 1979: 80, fig. 7: 1; for southern sites, see Gichon 1974: 121, fig. 4: 16–18, 20, plate XX: 4–5; Zayadine 1977/78: fig. 26, no. 505
18.	2142/4	1043, north of building C, floor at 197.76	*III*, 197.68–197.82	B/7	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	5Y 5/1 (gray)	Thin, hard fired ware; black grits; clean breaks	
19.	1827/6	891, building A, room 5, pavement at 197.89	*IV*, 197.85–197.89	C–D/4–5	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); core: 10YR 5/1 (gray)	Thin, hard fired ware; sharp, clean breaks; black and white grits	

Figure 43, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
20.	2186/2	1056, building C, room 1, pavement at 198.76	*V*, 198.48–198.76	C/7	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 5/8 (yellowish red)	Hard fired, thin ware; sharp, clean breaks; tiny black grits; grooved rim	
21.	2097/4	1031, building D, room 2, fill	*IV*, 198.31–198.38	C/8	Interior: 5YR 5/1 (gray); exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red)	2.5YR 5/6 (red); core: 2.5YR 4/0 (black gray); paint: 2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thin walls; white grits	
Light Ware Bowls								
22.	1593/16	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 196.67–197.03	C/4	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	Soft ware; black and white grits	
23.	2385/3	1062, building G, room 4, plastered installation	*II*	D/8	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Soft ware, tiny black grits	
24.	1599/26	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	II, *I*, 196.67–196.91	C/4	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Soft ware; tiny black grits	
25.	2369/1	1082, south of building F, cobble floor at 197.23	*II*, 197.23	F/4	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Soft ware; tiny black grits	

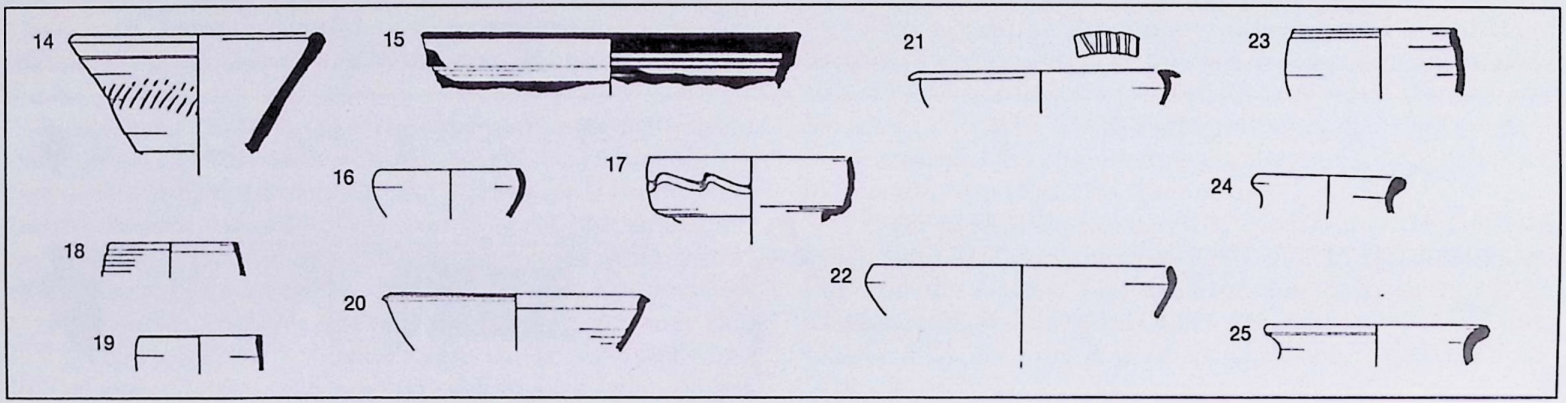
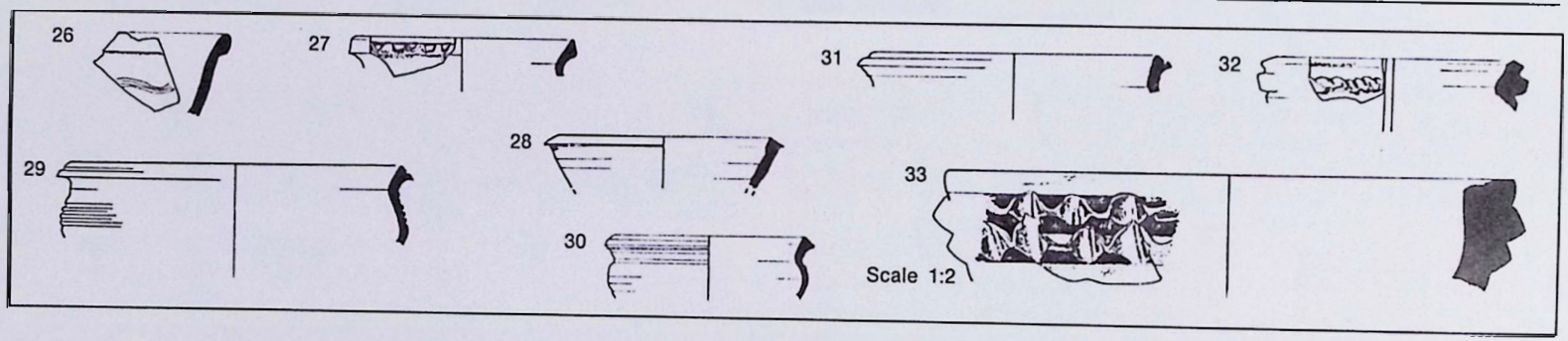


Figure 43, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
26.	520/11	101, courtyard 1	I	C/5–6	5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	Soft ware; thick walls; black and white grits; wavy combed decoration	
27.	2016/2	Wall 201	II	C/9	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Soft, hard fired ware; finger impressed decoration on rim; tiny black grits	
28.	1581/2	824, building F, room 3, pavement at 196.90	*I*, 197.04–197.06	D/4–5	5Y 8/2 (white) to 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Black grits; coarse breaks	
29.	2001/23	1000, building A, room 1	IV	D–E/6	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Tiny black grits; ribbed body; grooved rim; soft ware	
30.	2374/1	1062, building G, room 4, plastered installation	*II*	D/8	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/6 (yellow)	Thin ware; black and white grits	
31.	1886/8	904, building A, room 1, floor at 198.42	*IV*, 198.16–198.42	E/6–7	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Soft ware; tiny black grits	
32.	1511/1	801, building L, pavement at 197.01	*I*, 196.99–197.02	B–C/7	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Thick ware; tiny black and white grits	
33.	1528/2	806, building F, room 1, floor at 197.03	I, 196.72–196.98	C–D/5	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/6 (yellow)	Tiny black grits	Delougaz and Haines 1960: plate 38: 1 (similar decoration)



Dhiban (Tushingham 1972: 137); and a deep bowl with flaring walls has a rounded, thickened rim with exterior rouletting (fig. 43.14). Though this latter bowl is reminiscent of Late Roman bowl profiles and decoration (but not in ware), it would appear to be made locally. Also in this stratum is a thin-walled bowl, slightly tapering inward with a plain rim; the exterior bears shallow ridges (fig. 43.18).

In Strata II and I, there seems to be a concentration of light ware bowls, a group that displays several new and distinctive forms not found in the repertoire of the red and gray wares. This group includes a bowl with a round body and slight carination below the rim, which tends to curve inward at the lip (fig. 43.22); a bowl with slightly rounded walls, shallow ribbing on the body, and a simple, tapered rim (fig. 43.23; both of these types have a groove on the interior, below the rim); bowls with an everted, round, thickened rim (fig. 43.24, 25); bowls with an everted, slightly rolled rim, round or flattened on the exterior (fig. 43.26, 27) and bearing a wavy combed decoration on body or a thumb-impressed decoration on rim. A bowl with flaring walls and flat, thickened rim (fig. 43.28) also belongs to this stratum. A very common form is a bowl with rounded, ridged body (fig. 43.29–31), with an everted rim, deeply or shallowly grooved. This form appears already in Stratum IV, and may have had an even longer vogue. Also found in these strata are bowls with "complex" rims having an appliqué of a thumb-indented coil on the outside of the rim, in one or two rows (fig. 43.32, 33).

To these late strata also belong bowls not of the light ware group: a bowl with almost straight walls and an inverted, flat, thickened rim (fig. 43.2); one with a round body and an obvious transition from rim to walls (the almost flat rim projects outward with a distinguished sharp ridge below; fig. 43.4); a more open bowl having a flat, downturned, projecting rim, with no distinct transition to the body (fig. 43.5). This latter bowl is reminiscent of the triangular, expanded rim of basins, although of a different scale, and it has been dated to the Umayyad period (e.g., at Pella, Smith 1973: 232).

GALILEAN BOWLS
(Figure 44.1–7)

This group of bowls consists of deep or shallower forms with flaring walls and thickened, flat or rounded rim profiles. The thickening of the rim varies, as does emphasis of the transition between body and rim. All examples have interior ribbing, which varies in depth and size.

Scholars tend to distinguish types of these bowls on the basis of the rim profile, ribbing, base, and handles (e.g., Meyers et al. 1976: 170–80; Loffreda 1969: 240–50; Loffreda 1970: 66–71); at Capernaum, the last two diagnostic features are lacking entirely. The ware of the bowls is hard fired, in reddish tones, with the surface often more on the brownish side. The ware was tempered with white and black inclusions.

The group of Galilean bowls is well attested in Palestine in Roman and Byzantine contexts (e.g., at Magdala, Loffreda 1976: 338; at Rama, Tzaferis 1980: 71 and 73; at Capernaum, Loffreda 1969: 257; *Cafarnao* II: 40; at Meiron, Ritterspach 1974: 19–20; Meyers et al. 1981: 123; at Khirbet Shema^{c}, Meyers et al. 1976: 174ff.; Fernandez 1983: 128–29, 213–17, 231).

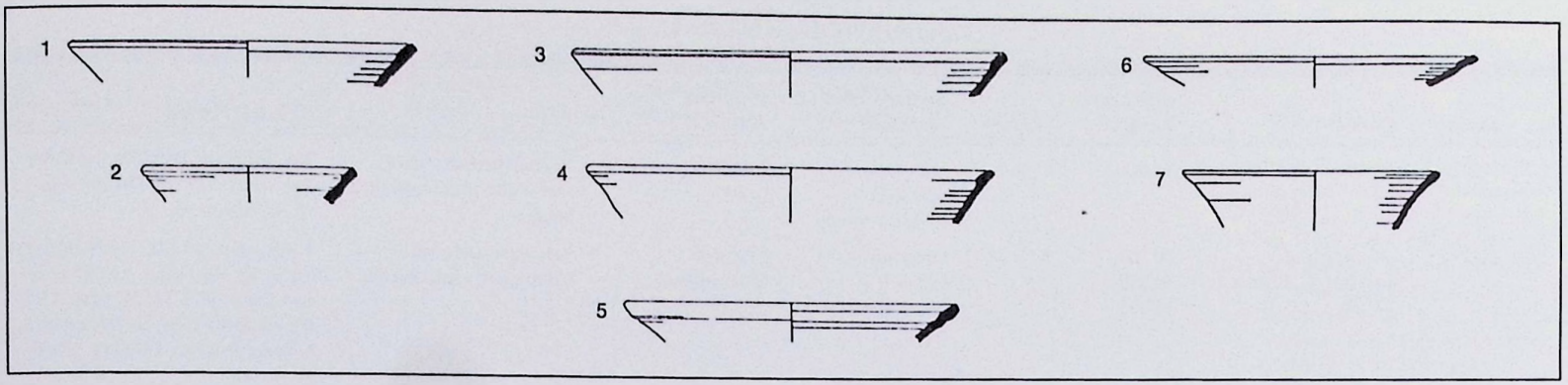
They appear at Capernaum in both Strata V and IV. A decline in the quantity of this type is apparent in Stratum IV. All the comparative examples are from Roman and Byzantine contexts, and there are no examples of later date. It is not entirely clear, however, when the group actually ceased to be common within this span of time.

From comparative material it appears that the Galilean Bowls were common, though known only in Northern Palestine and the Golan. The name of this group seems to be based on this fact (Loffreda 1969: 258–63), and Galilee may, indeed, have been the area of its manufacture (Meyers et al. 1976: 170, n 2).

Figure 44. Galilean Bowls

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	2041/3	1012, building C, room 2, floor at 198.60 (east)	V, *IV*, 198.35–198.61	C/7	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Small black and white grits; shallow, wide set ribbing*	Avigad 1955: 209, fig. 3: 9–11; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 33, plates 53: 30, 33: 11; Loffreda 1969: 237–63 (esp. 257), fig. 7: 26, Tipo 6; Ritterspach 1974: 19–20, plate III: 18; Meyers et al. 1976: 170–80, fig. 7.1: 17, Types 4.1, 4.2; Tzaferis 1980: 71–73, fig. 3: 1; Meyers et al. 1981: 123, plates 8.8: 26, 8.16: 19, 8.20: 9; Loffreda 1970: 77, fig. 30:2; Loffreda 1976: 338, 341, figs. 9: 10f., 3: 10f.; Fernandez 1983: 128–29, 213–17, 231, T.15.4, 15.5, 15.6
2.	2329/5	1036a, street 1, plastered floor at 198.63	*V*, 198.45–198.63	D/6–7	Interior: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red); exterior: 2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 7/8 (reddish yellow)	Tiny black and white grits; porous surface; shallow, wide set ribbing	
3.	533/22	102, street 1, drain	*V*	C/6–7	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/3 (red)	Hard fired ware; black and white grits; deep, dense ribbing	
4.	2245/3	1059, building D, room 2, floor at 198.93	*V*, IV, 198.68–198.77	B/C-8/9	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Large black grits; deep, dense ribbing	See fig. 44.1
5.	2329/10	1036a, street 1, plastered floor at 198.63	*V*, IV, 198.45–198.63	D/7	5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Black grits; shallow, wide set ribbing	See fig. 44.1
6.	535/7	102, street 1, drain	V	C/6–7	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	5YR 4/6 (yellowish red)	Small black grits; shallow, wide set ribbing	Loffreda 1969: 248, 257, figs. 7: 2, 8: 2, Tipo 6; Bagatti 1969: 287–88, fig. 226: 13; Tzaferis 1980: 71–73, fig. 3:3
7.	2129/4, 5	1039, building A, room 1, floor at 198.78	*V*, 198.64–198.78	D/6	2.5YR 3/6 (dark red)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Narrow set ribbing	Loffreda 1969: 248, 257, fig. 8: 4, Tipo 6; Meyers et al. 1976: 174, 179–80, esp. pl. 7.4: 12, Type 3.1; Meyers et al. 1981: 123, plates 8.1: 12, 8.12: 27

*Ribbing is referenced to interior of bowl.



PAINTED BOWLS/CUPS
(Figure 45.1-12; plates 4f-k, 6e, 7a-f)

This group of cups (or bowls) encompasses various shapes and wares. It is distinguished by painted patterns. The cups have a hemispherical body, or almost straight flaring walls, and a distinct transition between rim and body. The rim profiles vary from simple (fig. 45.1) to tapered (fig. 45.2-6), but they can also be of everted and often "folded" type with a distinct ridge below (fig. 45.7-9), or grooved-plain, or "knobbed" type (fig. 45.10-12). The single extant example of a base is of the flat type (fig. 45.4).

The ware is fired reddish-yellow (fig. 45.4-6, 8; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 35—Group III) or fired light (fig. 45.1-3, 9, 12; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 35—Group I), with paint in red and brown shades. It is thin and metallic. There are examples of thicker and porous, brown or red fired ware (fig. 45.10-11), which are from unstratified contexts. All the sherds are micaceous.[3]

[3] I wish to thank Emanuel Eisenberg for drawing my attention to the possibility that the clay may be of a non-local origin. Some of these pieces are still in the process of laboratory analysis.

One rim (fig. 45.8) is painted on the interior, possibly through carelessness. The painting, which is "free-hand drawn" (for technique, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 93-95), comprises simple geometric motifs: wavy, horizontal, or vertical lines, some ending in dots, zigzags, circles, or combinations. The painting is delicate, though blobs of color occasionally formed at overlaps of patterns. Brush marks are visible. "Compound" designs are absent here, although similarly dated examples are known at Dhiban (Tushingham 1972: 75-76, fig. 7: 8), the Amman forum (Hadidi 1970: 15; plate VI: B, 5, 6), and Tel Yoqneam (Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978: 70, fig. 7: 9).

The painted bowl group is common throughout Palestine and the neighboring regions. It is associated with Late Byzantine and Early Arab contexts (e.g., at Nebo, Schneider 1950: 43-47; at Kursi, Tzaferis 1983: 34; at Dhiban, Tushingham 1972: 75-76; at Nessana, Baly 1962: 291; at Khirbet Mefjer, Baramki 1944: 74; at Pella, McNicoll et al. 1982: 143-44; at Khirbet Kerak, Delougaz and Haines 1960: 35; at Heshbon, Sauer 1973: 41ff.; at Hallabat, Bisheh 1980: 72). According to most of the excavators, this ware gained its widest popularity in the Early Arab period.

[*text continues on p. 54*]

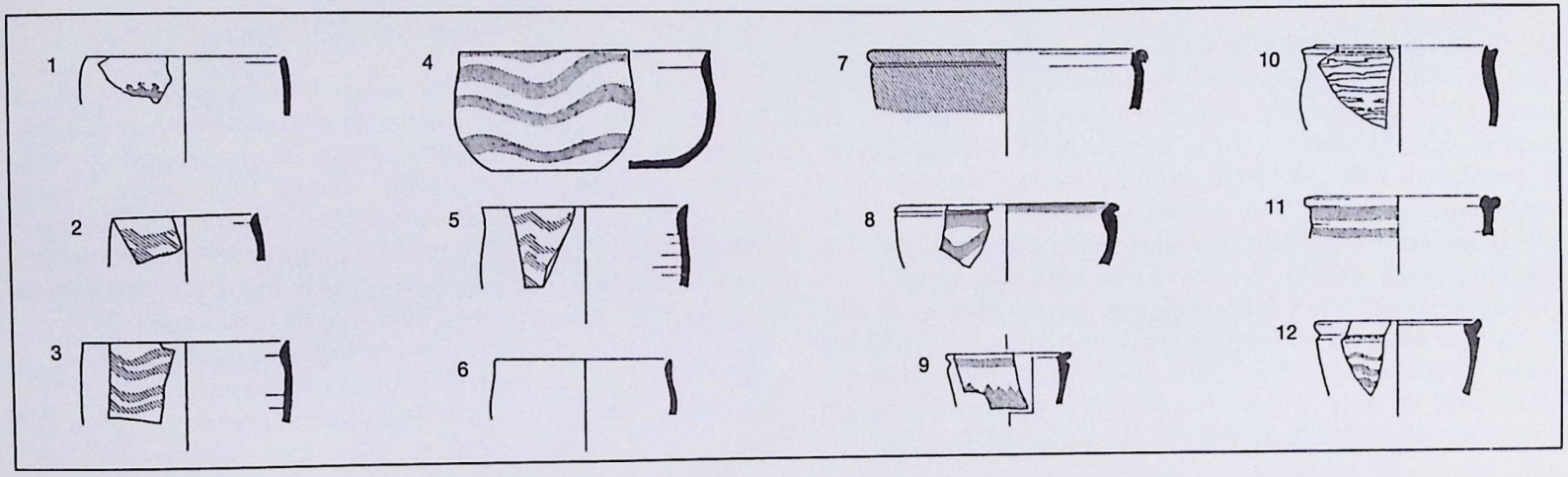
*Figure 45. Painted Bowls/Cups**

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.[a]	513/17	102, courtyard 2	Unstr.	C/6-7	Decoration: 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Porous surface; black and white grits; uneven breaks	Tushingham 1972: 75, fig. 6: 10; Baly 1962: 278-79, 291, pl. L:B: 13, 14, shape 36
2.[b]	1846/3	895, north of building C, floor at 197.76	IV, *III*, 197.79-197.93	B/7	Decoration: 10R 4/3 (weak red)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Soft ware; thin walls; black grits; clean breaks	Tushingham 1972: 75-76, 139-41, fig. 6: 19, 36, 41, fig. 7:8; Winnet and Reed 1964: 24, 56, plate 67:7, 19; Baramki 1944: 68, 74, fig. 6: 2, 3, Ware 9; Sauer 1973: 41, 47-49, fig. 3: 123
3.[c]	1908/8	898, Courtyard 1	Unstr.	C/7	Decoration: 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Thin walls; clean breaks; black and white grits	
4.[d]	508/12, 17	102, courtyard 2	Unstr.	C/6-7	Decoration: 5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow); core: 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Tiny black grits; sharp breaks	See fig. 45.2
5.[e]	1895/1	880, building C, room 2, floor at 198.03	*III*, 197.95-198.05	D/7-8	Decoration: 10YR 4/4 (weak red)	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	Thin walls; sharp breaks; black grits	See fig. 45. 2
6.[f]	508/16	102, courtyard 2	Unstr.	C/6-7	Decoration: (very faded)	7.5YR 7/6 (grayish yellow)	Hard fired ware; black and white grits; sharp breaks	See fig. 45.2
7.[g]	1845/7	896, street 1, south	IV	E/7		5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	Black and white grits; uneven breaks; exterior surface flecked	
8.[h]	2054/4	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	*III*, 197.78-197.88	C/5-6	Decoration: 2.5YR 3/4 (dark reddish brown)	5YR 7/6 (reddish brown)	White, interior slipped; painted rim; uneven breaks	
9.[i]	530/9	102, street 1, drain	*V*	C/6-7	Decoration: 10R 4/3 (weak red)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Black grits; uneven breaks; soft ware; thin walls	Tushingham 1972: 75, 76, 141 ("jug"), fig. 6: 50
10.[j]	504/12	101, courtyard 1	Unstr.	C/5-6	Decoration: 10YR 8/1 (white)	2.5YR 5/8 (red)	Porous ware; thick walls; uneven breaks; black grits	Fitzgerald 1931: 36, plates 30: 8, 33:27; Schneider 1950: 26, 43-47, fig. 13: 5, plates 146, 156: 16, 24, 158: B:28; Kelso and Baramki 1955: 39, plates 15: A16; 30: A24, Type 40; Delougaz and Haines

Figure 45, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
								1960: 35, plate 37; Hadidi 1970: 15, plate VI:B: 5, 6; Tushingham 1972: 75, 76, fig. 7: 4; Sauer 1973: 42, 47–49, fig. 3: 132; Smith 1973: 234, plate 91C; Bisheh 1980: 70–72, plate L: 1; Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978: 70, fig. 7: 9; Tzaferis 1983: 34, plate XV: 8; McNicoll et al. 1982: 147, plate 147: 2
11.[k]	513/23	102, courtyard 2	Unstr.	C/6–7	Decoration: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); core: 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown gray)	Thick walls; very porous surface; uneven breaks; black and white grits	
12.[l]	504/9	101, courtyard 1	Unstr.	C/5–6	Decoration: 7.5YR 4/2 (dark brown)	2.5Y 7/2 (light gray)	Thin walls; sharp breaks; black and white grits	

* All fragments are micaceous. [a] See also plate 7e. [b] See also plate 7a. [c] See also plate 7f. [d] See also plate 6e. [e] See also plate 4k.
[f] The absence of painted drawn decoration is due to the flecked surface of the sherd. [g] The painted design is not drawn; see also plate 4f.
[h] See also plate 4g. [i] See also plate 7d. [j] See also plate 4i. [k] See also plate 4h. [l] See also plate 7c.



Painted cups were common at Capernaum in Strata V, IV, and III, from the end of the Byzantine period to the Abbasid period. It is still difficult, however, to draw a typological sequence within this group over these periods, or to determine the precise time at which it ceased to be manufactured.

"CHIP-CARVED" BOWLS
(Figure 46.1-6)

This group of bowls is represented by various shapes and wares, and especially by a unique cut decoration on the exterior surface. The forms discovered at Capernaum vary from open shallow or deeper to almost straight-sided bowls with flat-everted rim (fig. 46.1) to grooved, inverted rim (fig. 46.2), or round-thickened rim profile (fig. 46.3). The ware is of several variants:

Type 1—tones of red and reddish-brown; clean or coarse fracture; metallic (fig. 46.2, 4-6)
Type 2—light, soft; clean, smooth fracture (fig. 46.3)
Type 3—dark gray; coarse fracture; hard-fired (fig. 46.1)

In all cases, it was tempered with white and black inclusions. This ware is characterized by the so-called "sliced cutting" (Lane 1937: 38) or "chip-carved" (Rahmani 1983: 222) technique, which is usually called "Kerbschnitt." The decoration is deeply cut into geometric designs, mainly triangles and oval-shaped patterns. The heavier carving is combined with thinly incised lines. Deep incisions were possible on the soft ware (fig. 46.2), where tiny incised dots were also added.

Some bowl types (although not represented at Capernaum) are painted, both within and without (e.g., at Khirbet Mefjer, Baramki 1944: 69, figs. 6: 20-25, 9: 20, plate XXI: 7—Ware 11), or only within (e.g., at Beth-Shean, Fitzgerald 1931: 36; pls. XXVI: 3; XXVII: 1, 2; XXXIII: 31 (?); at Samaria, *Samaria* III: 363, fig. 84a: 6, 7). It also has a glazed variant (e.g., at Al-Mina, Lane 1937: plate XVIII: 1C—green glaze; at Antioch, Waagé 1948: fig. 78: 15-17, 19—green glaze—[p. 101], XIID 1) a type that presumably was imported from Mesopotamia in the 9th century A.D. (Lane 1937: 38).

This group has been regarded as Umayyad (e.g., at Ramla, Rosen-Ayalon and Eitan 1969; at Khirbet Mefjer, Baramki 1944: 74; at Kursi, Tzaferis 1983: 32; at Tel Yoqneam, Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978: 73; at Samaria, *Samaria* III: 363; at Dhiban, Winnet and Reed 1964: 56; Rahmani 1983: 230 cites examples from sites near Gaza that were abandoned prior to the first quarter of the 8th century A.D., thus dating the group).

The group has been found at Capernaum only in a single stratum, Stratum IV, of the Umayyad period, which would correspond well with other datings given by various excavators. It is difficult, however, to determine a more limited range for the group, within this hundred-year span. The group is rather rare in Palestine, and there are few parallels for the forms found at Capernaum.

BASINS
(Figure 47.1-10)

This group consists of large, deep, straight-walled or flaring walled, flat-bottomed basins usually with handles located below the rim. Often, there is an emphasized transition from rim to body. The family displays two main wares—a gray, hard-fired ware and a soft, low-fired orange/red/brownish ware. The ware was tempered with white and black inclusions. The shapes vary, although some that appear in gray ware can be found also in red ware basins. All were handmade, though they seem to have been wheel-turned in the final stage (for construction technique, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 155). Within the several types, there are varia-

[*text continues on p. 58*]

Figure 46. Chip-carved Bowls

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	1923/7	905, street 1	Disturbed	D/7	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; black and white grits	(*Chip-carved bowls:*) Fitzgerald 1931: 36, plate XXVII: 1, 2; Baramki 1944: 69, 74, fig. 4: 7, Ware 11; Hamilton 1944: plate XI: 1–4; Schneider 1950: plate. 158:B: 22; *Samaria* III: 363, fig. 84a: 4, 5; Winnet and Reed 1964: 25, 56, 73, plates 15:9, 67:6; Hadidi 1970: 15, plates VI:B: 12, V: 21; Oren 1971: 277; Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978: 73, fig. 8: 1–3; Tzaferis 1983: 32, fig. 5: 1; Kjaer 1930: 35, fig. 20; Rahmani 1983: 222, fig. 1: 4, plate 27:B, upper center
2.	2198/26	1048, street 1, cobble floor at 198.46 (south)	*IV*, 198.37–198.45	E/7	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Hard fired ware; black and white grits	
3.	1586/3	832, building G	Unstr.	D–E/7	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	10YR 8/4 (very pale brown)	Soft ware; clean breaks; tiny black and white grits	
4.	1873/5	896, street 1, south	IV	E/7	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; black grits	
5.	2198/25	1048, street 1, cobble floor at 198.46 (south)	*IV*, 198.37–198.45	E/7	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; white grits	
6.	2151/2	1048, street 1, cobble floor at 198.46 (south)	*IV*, 198.37–198.45	E/7	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Hard fired ware; clean, sharp breaks; black and white grits	

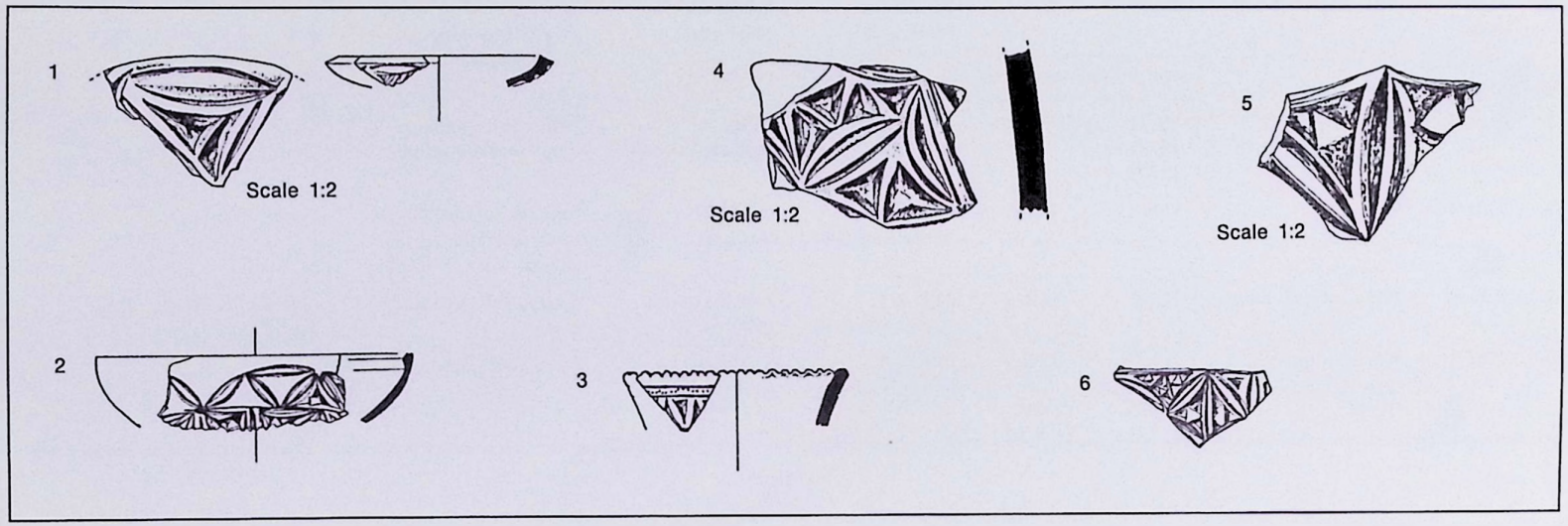


Figure 47. Basins

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Gray Ware								
1.	1807/1	887, building A, room 5, floor at 197.80	*III*, 197.55–197.76	C–D/6	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	10YR 6/1 (light gray)	Black and white grits; wavy and horizontal combed decoration	Baramki 1944: 69, 74, fig. 10: 2, Ware 13; Fisher and McCown 1931: 35–36, plate 13: X20; Harding 1951: 11, fig. 3: 50; McNicoll et al. 1982: 143–57, plate 148:5
2.	1836/1	894, building D, room 2, fill	*IV*, 198.07–198.29	B/9	10YR 6/1 (light gray)	2.5Y 3/0 (very dark gray)	Black grits; handle	Baramki 1944: 69, 74, fig. 10: 5, 7, Ware 14
3.	2150/2	1038, street 4, pavement at 197.75	*III*, 197.45–197.73	E–F/7	7.5YR 5/0 (gray)	10YR 5/1 (gray)	Black and white grits; shallow grooves on rim	
4.	1196/6	723, plastered floor at 201.76	*IV*, 201.56–201.78	Area C	10YR 5/1 (gray)	10YR 5/1 (gray)	Thick walls; coarse breaks; black and white grits	
5.	1171/4	717, plastered floor at 201.76	*IV*, 201.56–201.78	Area C	10YR 5/1 (gray)	10YR 5/2 (grayish brown)	Thick walls; coarse ware; black and white grits; hard fired	
6.	2189/2 (base)	1055, street 2 (baulk)	Unstr.	D/8	7.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	7.5YR 4.0 (dark gray)	Black and white grits; clean breaks; incised zigzag decoration	
Red/Orange Ware								
7.	2128/1	1038, street 4, pavement at 197.75	*III*, 1, 197.63–197.79	E–F/7	7.5YR 5/2 (brown)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	White grits; finger impressed decoration	
8.	1701/1	Wall 138	Unstr.	D/4	5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Smooth surface; large black and white grits; incised wavy decoration	
9.	2251/1	1036a, street 1, drain	*V*, IV	D/6–7	5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Large black and white grits	*Cafarnao* II: 53, fig. 12: 6, Tipo C12a
10.	1917/1	904, building A, room 1, floor at 198.42	*IV*, 198.19–198.36	E/6–7	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	Black and white grits	

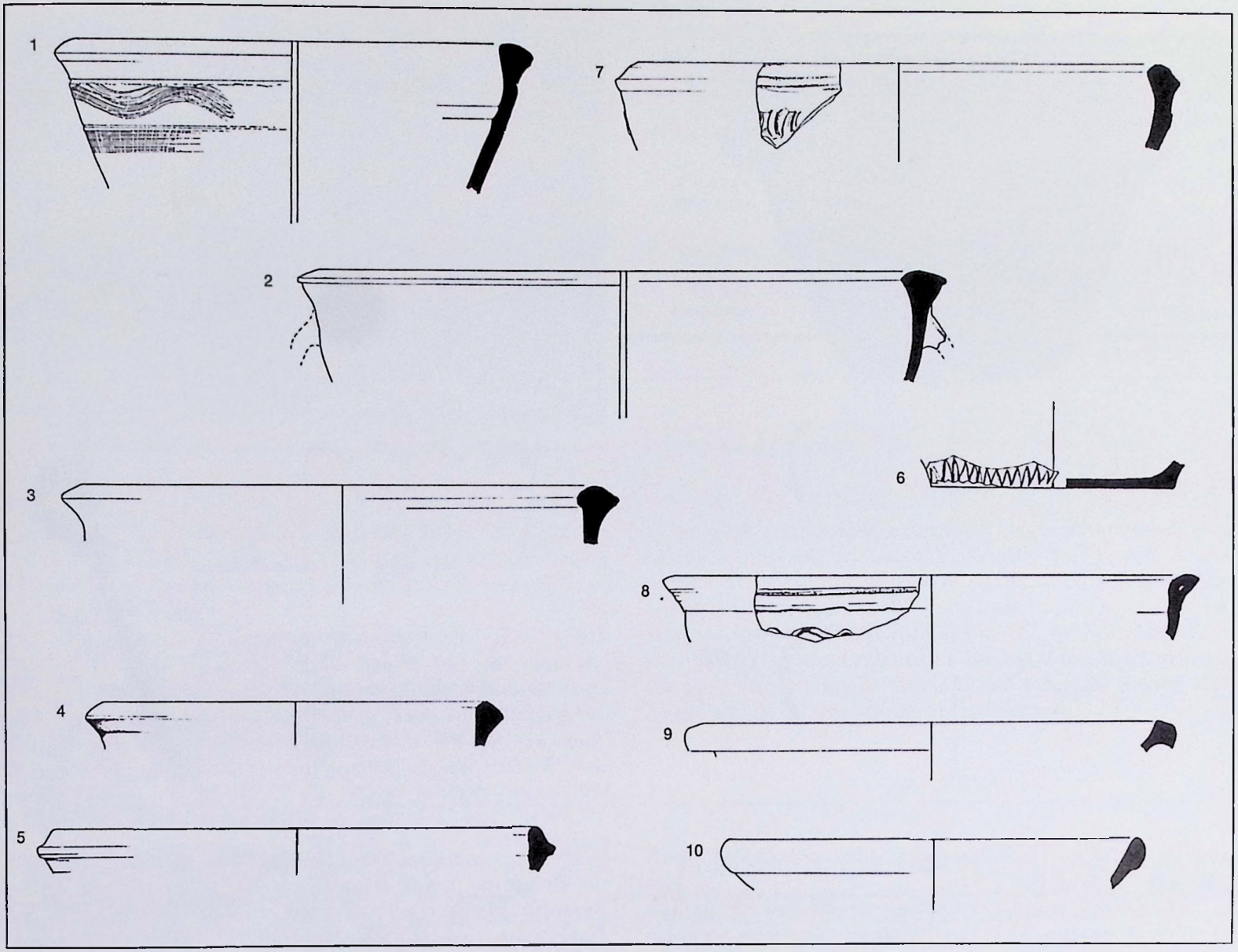

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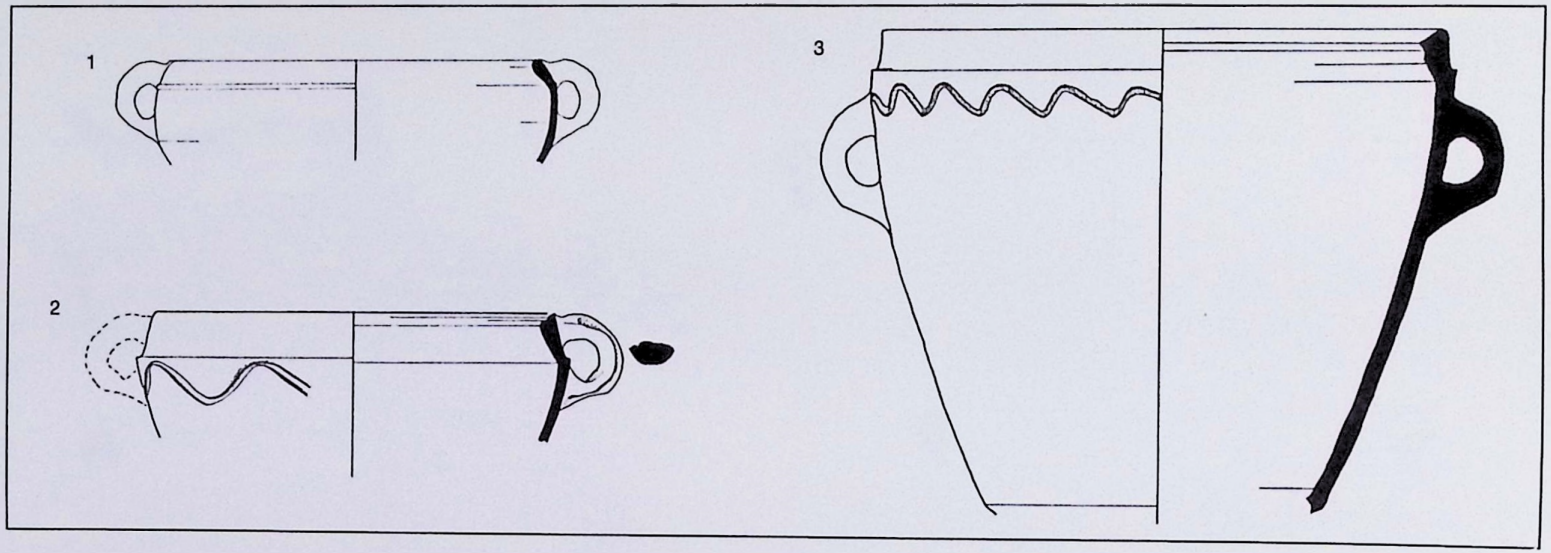
Figure 48. Kraters

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	2096	1034, building C, room 2, pavement at 198.89	*V*, 198.77–198.87	C/7	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Thick ware; uneven, coarse breaks; black and white grits	Corbo 1955: 66, fig. 19: 2; *Cafarnao* II: 53, fig. 12: 17, Tipo C12c
2.	1804/2	885, street 1, fill	disturb	C–D/6–7	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Thick ware; uneven, coarse breaks; black and white grits	Tzaferis 1983: 32–33, fig. 5: 10–12; plate XIII: 4; Loffreda 1983: 367, fig. 12: 4
3.	2335[a]	1066, building B, floor at 198.74	*V*, 198.89	E/7	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); 5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	5YR 6/3 (light reddish brown)	Coarse breaks; white grits	

[a] See also figs. 49, 50.



tions in size, shape, and decoration (for typology, see Smith 1973: 224–25, 231–32).

The thick, triangular rim projecting outward and slightly rounded on top (fig. 47.1–4), with slight variations, seems to be the most common form. Similar forms have been dated to the Byzantine period (Harding 1951: 11), or the end of the Byzantine period (Fisher and McCown 1931: 35–36), or to the Umayyad period (at Pella, McNicoll et al. 1982: 149–50), and

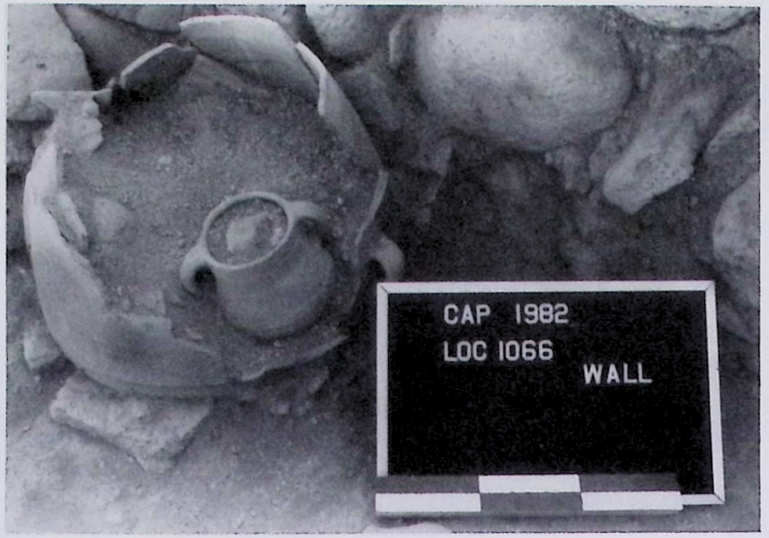


Fig. 49. Krater (fig. 48.3) and two-handled jug (fig. 57.1), in situ.

Fig. 50. Krater (fig. 48.3).

even later (at Khirbet Mefjer, Baramki 1944: 74 [although Smith 1973 claims that such a 12th–13th century A.D. dating is far too late for the form]). At Capernaum the form appears in Strata IV and III.

The basin with "squarish" rim profile (fig. 47.9), which appears in both Strata V and IV, is also very common and has been regarded as Late Roman and Early Byzantine (e.g., at Capernaum, *Cafarnao* II: 53). The form with flanged rim profile (fig. 47.5) was found in Stratum IV—the Umayyad period. The thickened rim, flattened on the outside and slightly inverted (fig. 47.7) was found in Stratum III, but examples have been found in Stratum I as well (other examples are from unstratified or disturbed loci). Decoration consists of multiple incised wavy bands or horizontal lines, zigzags, and finger-impressed motifs (fig. 47.1, 6, 7, 8).

The gray ware basins appear at Capernaum in Strata IV and III, though it is difficult to draw any chronological-typological conclusions within the group. Orange/red ware basins are present in Strata V, IV, III, and I, that is, one phase earlier than the gray ware group. But it is not yet clear whether the absence of the gray ware basins in the earliest stratum indicates the popularity of the red ware family in that period (see the Conclusion, below). Also, the absence of the gray ware basins in Strata II and I may be merely accidental and of no chronological significance.

KRATERS
(Figures 48.1–3; 49, 50)

This group is represented by a deep, closed form with rounded or V-shaped body, collared mouth, and prominent carination. The rim profiles are inverted-round; flat grooved mouldings. Two vertical handles are attached to the upper

part, though this location can vary slightly. The height of these kraters averages about 34 cm. The ware is low fired, soft, and brittle, in brown tones (appearing pinkish to the eye), and contains white and black inclusions. In some instances, a wavy incised decoration is applied on the upper part of the body.

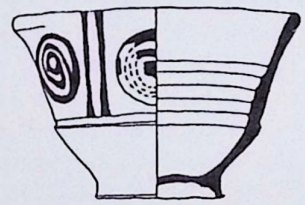
This group of kraters is fairly limited in distribution within Palestine and the neighboring regions, and is attested in public architectural contexts, as at Kursi, Bethany, and Khirbet Kerak (where it is often denoted as a basin). Despite the rarity of the form, there are several variants, though only a few can be regarded as exact parallels to our forms. It is usually dated to the end of the Byzantine period (e.g., by Loffreda in *Cafarnao* II: 53). Such kraters are attested at Capernaum only in Stratum V—the transitional phase—a dating that coincides very well with the data at other sites.

GOBLETS
(Figure 51; plate 5i)

The single vessel included under this type at Capernaum is a unique piece having no parallels in any other (published) excavations. It is an open vessel about 13.5 cm. in height, with flaring walls, a plain, thickened roundish rim, and a ring base. It is carinated at a point about a quarter of the way up the body. It bears painted designs of concentric circles within metopes, the latter separated by two or three vertical lines. The paint, in tones of reds, browns, and grays, is applied over a white wash. This goblet, together with the other vessels from Locus 1066, on the Byzantine floor of Stratum V (fig. 21), is dated to the transitional phase. Although it has no parallels, it is reminiscent in its painted

Figure 51. Goblet

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.[a]	2333	1066, building B, floor at 198.74	V, 198.74	E/7	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown) to 5YR 4/1 (dark gray); wash: 5Y 8/2 (white); decoration: 2.5Y 3/0 (very dark gray); 7.5YR 4/0 (dark gray); 7.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray); 7.5YR 4/2 (dark brown); 10R 6/8 (light red)	2.5YR 3/6 (dark red)	Concentric circles between vertical lines	



[a] See also plate 5i.

decoration (but not in ware) of the Byzantine-Early Arab bowls found at Maʿale Adumim.[4]

COOKING-POTS
(Figures 52.1–36; 53a–b)

The group of cooking-pots at Capernaum comprises two major groups: closed and open forms. The individual types within these groups display variations mainly in shape, size, ribbing, and attachment of handles (for typology and chronology, see Ritterspach 1974: 19; Smith 1973: 222–24, 230–31; and Saller 1957: 244–49). The ware varies from coarse to fine, thick to thin; it is red or gray-black fired. The cooking-pots bear ribbing on the neck, shoulder or body. Table 3 shows the various cooking-pot forms by strata.

Closed Forms

In stratum V a unique type is a very delicate globular form carinated at mid body, with an elongated neck and a rounded rim profile, handles stretching from rim to upper shoulder. It has very thin walls and bears deep, narrow ribbing on the exterior (fig. 52.1).

A common form in this phase has a grooved rim and elongated, ribbed neck (fig. 52.11–13), or a globular body with a squat unribbed neck (fig. 52.14–16). A variant has been dated to the Roman period (*Cafarnao* II: 32) and as late as the early 5th century A.D., at Khirbet Shemaʿ (Meyers et al. 1976: 201). Another form of this phase is neckless, with an everted, flat, thick rectangular rim and ribbed body (fig. 52.18).

[*text continues on p. 69*]

[4] I wish to thank Ms. Heftsiba Cohen for showing me the unpublished material from Maʿale Adumim.

TABLE 3. Distribution of Cooking-pots

	Stratum				
Forms	V	IV	III	II	I
Closed					
1	■				
2	■	■	■		
3	■	■	■	■	
4		■	■	■	
5		■			
6		■			
7		■			
8			■		
9		■	■	■	
10				■	
11	■				
12	Unstratified				
13	■				
14	■				
15	■				
16	■				
17		■	■		
18	■				
19				■	
Open					
20	■	■	■	■	■
21		■			
22		■	■		
23				■	
24		■	■	■	■
25		■			
26		■			
27		■	■	■	■
28			■	■	■
29		■			
30		■	■	■	■
31				■	
32	■	■	■		
33					■
Lids					
34	■	■	■	■	■
35	■	■	■	■	■
36	■				

Figure 52. Cooking-pots

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Closed Forms								
1.	2324/5	1064, street 2, floor at 198.67	*V*, 198.37–198.67	D/7	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	2.5YR 5/6 (red); core: 5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	Thin ware; white grits; deep, dense ribbing on body	*Cafarnao* II: fig. 10:6
2.	1900/3	881, building C, room 1, floor at 197.84	V, IV, *III*, 198.05–198.23	C–D/7	Interior: 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown); exterior: 2.5YR 4/2 (weak red)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Black and white grits; thin ware; coarse breaks; hard fired; ribbing from below upper handle	Saller 1957: 244, fig. 46, no. 4014 = plate 119: 10; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 32, 33, plate 53: 38; McNicoll et al. 1982: plate 140:1
3.	1779/1	871, building F, room 3, floor at 197.40	V, IV, III, *II*, 197.33–197.67	D/5	10R 3/1 (dark reddish gray)	2.5YR 5/6 (red); 2.5YR 4/2 (weak red)	Thin ware; coarse breaks; hard fired; white grits; shallow, wide set ribbing from below rim	See fig. 52.2
4.	1615/1	820, building G, room 2, floor at 197.47	IV, III, *II*, 197.48–197.58	C–D/8	Interior: 2.5YR 3/6 (dark red); exterior: 5Y 4/1 (dark gray)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Hard ware; sharp breaks; black and white grits; deep ribbing on neck and from shoulder	
5.	1171/9	717, plastered floor at 201.76	*IV*, 201.56–201.78	Area C	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 5/2 (weak red)	Black and white grits; coarse breaks; shallow, wide set ribbing on body	
6.	2166/1	1047, street 2 (baulk)	IV	D/8–9	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Deep, dense ribbing from bottom of handle	
7.	2016/1	Wall 201	IV	C/9	Interior: 5YR 4/2 (dark reddish gray); 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); exterior: 5YR 4/2 (dark reddish gray)	5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	Thin ware; white grits; deep, dense ribbing from shoulder	
8.	1882/1	860, building D, room 1, floor at 197.90	*III*, 197.84–197.90	C–D/8–9	Interior: 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown); exterior: 5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/6 (red); core: 2.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray)	Deep, dense ribbing on body	*Cafarnao* II: 45, fig. 10: 2, 3

Figure 52, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
9.	1936/2	910, building C, room 1	IV, III, II	C/7	Interior: 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown); exterior: 2.5YR 4/2 (weak red)	2.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	Shallow, dense ribbing from shoulder	
10.	1615/2	820, building G, room 2, floor at 197.47	*II*, 197.48–197.58	C–D/8	10R 4/4 (weak red)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Hard fired; sharp, clean breaks, black and white grits; narrow set ribbing on body	

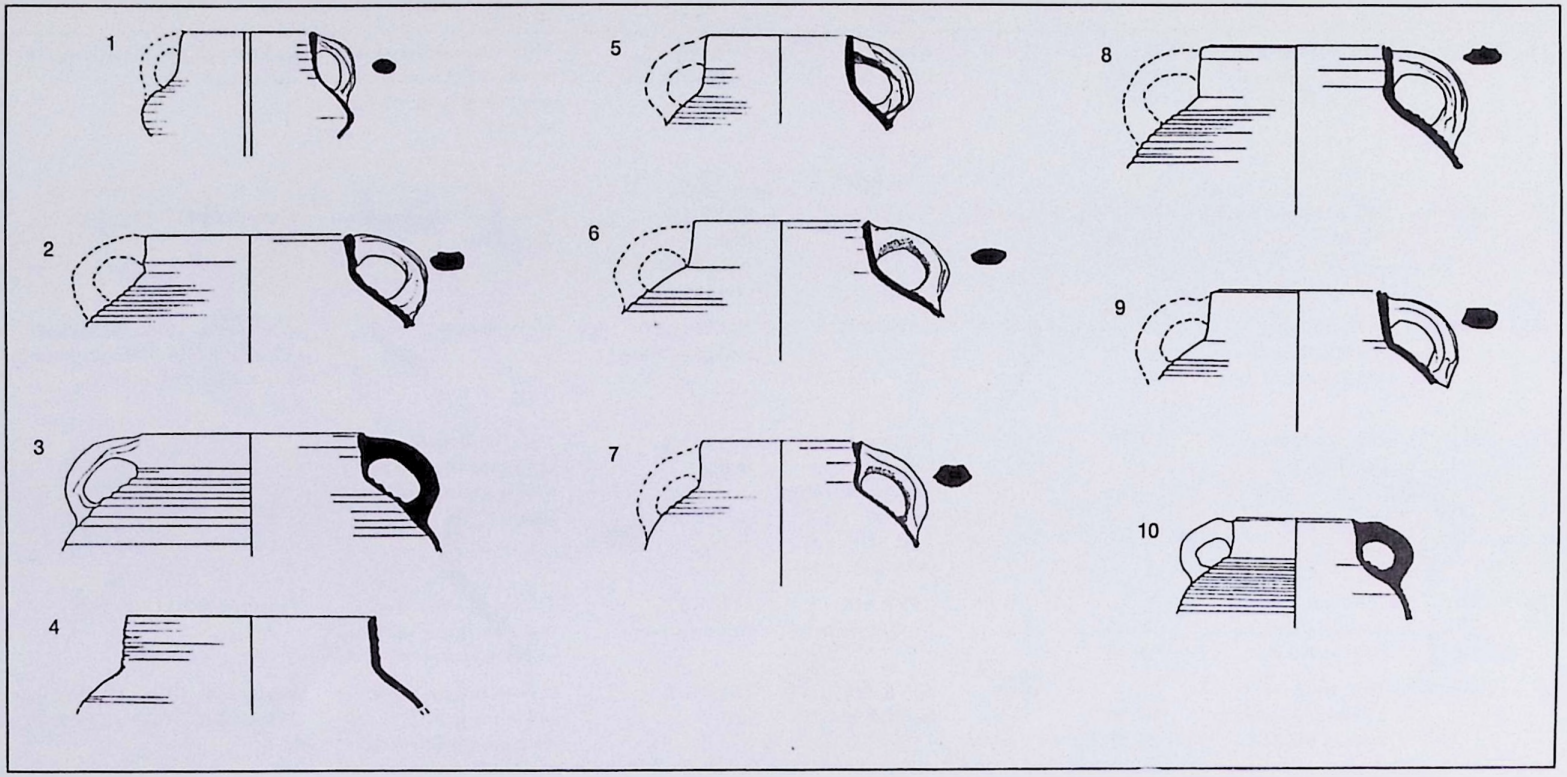


Figure 52, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
11.	2275/4	1036a, street 1, plastered floor at 198.63	*V*, 198.45–198.61	D/6–7	2.5YR 4/2 (weak red)	5YR 3/3 (dark reddish brown)	Thin ware; coarse breaks; black and white grits; no apparent ribbing	
12.	1633/11	842, building A, room 3, pit	Unstr.	E/5–6	2.5YR 4/2 (weak red)	5YR 3/4 (dark reddish brown)	Thin ware; many black and white grits; uneven breaks; unribbed	
13.	2239/3	1063, building A, room 1, floor at 198.97 (south)	*V*, 198.73–198.97	E/6	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 4/6 (yellowish red)	Thin, hard fired ware; coarse breaks; many black and white grits; shallow, dense ribbing on body	
14.	2322b	1084, building D, room 2, plastered floor at 199.05	*V*, 199.05–199.20	C/8–9	Interior: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red); exterior: 2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	5YR 5/8 (yellowish red)	Thin ware; sharp, clean breaks, black and white grits; deep, wide ribbing on body	*Cafarnao* II: fig. 3: 3; Meyers et al. 1976: plate 7.16
15.	1220/1	733, plastered floor at 202.08	*V*, 201.98–202.08	Area C	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	2.5YR 5/8 (red); core: 2.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	Thin ware; black and white grits	Tzaferis 1980: 74, fig. 3: 29
16.	2239/10	1063, building A, room 1, floor at 198.97 (south)	*V*, 198.73–198.97	E/6	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	White grits	Meyers et al. 1976: 195, 196, 200–202, plates 7.14, 7.16: 12, Type 3; Smith 1973: 223, plate 45, no. 1325
17.	531/1	103, north of building K	IV, III	A/5	Interior: 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown); exterior: 5YR 3/1 (very dark gray)	2.5YR 5/8 (red)	Thin, hard fired ware; black and white grits; well spaced ribbing on body	
18.	2322a	1084, building D, room 2, plastered floor at 199.05	*V*, 199.05–199.20	C/8–9	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	Thin ware; tiny black and white grits; narrow set ribbing on body	Tzaferis 1980: 74, fig. 3: 33
19.	2349/28	1082, south of building F, cobble floor at 197.23	*II*, 197.26–197.31	F/4	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Uneven breaks; black and white grits; carination below rim; unribbed	Meyers et al. 1976: 217, 218, plate 7:18: 27; Ben-Tor et al. 1979: 79, fig. 6: 3

Figure 52, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Open Forms								
20.	1837/13	895, north of building C, floor at 197.76	V, IV, *III*, II, I, 197.78–197.79	B/7	Interior: 2.5YR 5/0 (black); exterior: 5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	2.5YR 2.5/0 (black)	Thin walls; coarse breaks; black and white grits; deep, wide ribbing on body	Bagatti 1969: 287–88, fig. 226: 8, 11
21.	1196/2	723, plastered floor at 201.88	*IV*, 201.60–201.88	Area C	7.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	10YR 3/1 (very dark gray)	Thin walls, black and white grits; hard fired; deep, wide set ribbing below handles	

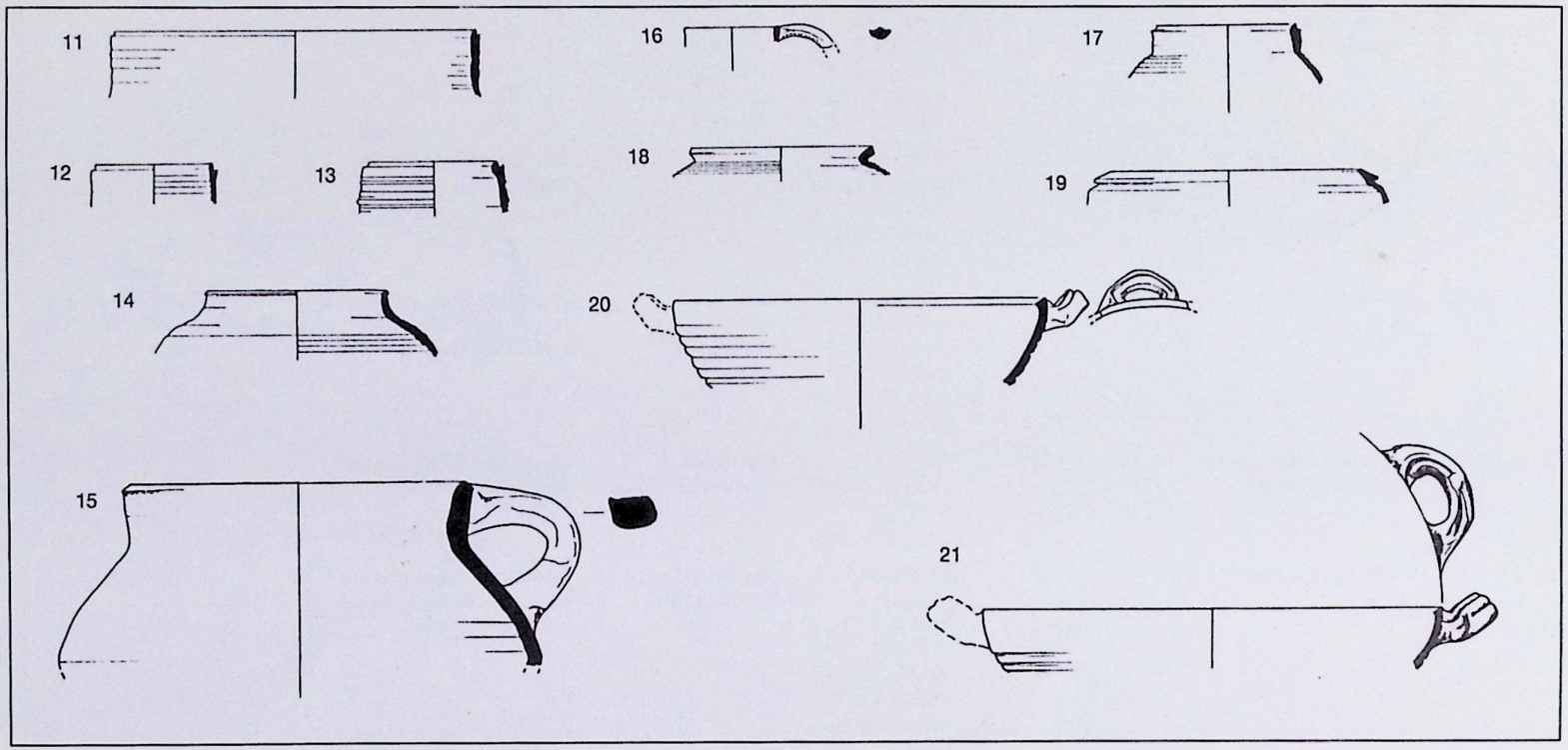


Figure 52, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
22.	1633/1	842, building A, room 3, pit	IV, III	E/5–6	5YR 5/2 (reddish gray); 5YR 5/3, 5/4 (reddish brown); 5YR 3/1 (very dark gray)	5YR 5/2 (reddish gray); 5YR 5/3, 5/4 (reddish brown); 5YR 3/1 (very dark gray		Saller 1957: 246, fig. 48, no. 4003
23.	1779/10	871, building F, room 3, floor at 197.40	*II*, 197.33–197.67	C–D/5	5YR 4/3 (reddish brown)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Thin walls; wide, shallow ribbing on body; black and white grits	Smith 1973: 230, plate 30: nos. 1127, 1128, 1328
24.	1554/1	819, building F, room 2	IV, III, II, I	C–D/4	2.5Y 3/0 (very dark gray)	5Y 5/1 (gray)	Hard fired, coarse ware; white grits; unribbed	
25.	1872/4	900, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.19	*IV*, 198.19–198.23	D/5–6	2.5YR 4/2 (weak red); 2.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray); 2.5YR 2.5/0 (black)	2.5YR 4/2 (weak red); 2.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray); 2.5YR 2.5/0 (black		
26.	2097/10	1031, building D, room 2, fill	*IV*, 198.31–198.38	C/8	7.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray); 7.5YR 4/2 (dark brown, brown)		Deep, dense ribbing on body	
27.	2147/3	1033, street 2, fill	IV, III, II, I	D/8–9	Interior: 2.5YR 4/6 (red); exterior: 5YR 2.5/1 (black)	2.5YR 4/6 (red); 5YR 2.5/1 (black)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; deep, wide set ribbing on body	Loffreda 1983: 861–62, fig. 8: 2; McNicoll et al. 1982: plate 140:7
28.	1593/2	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	III, II, *I*, 196.67–197.03	C/4	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown); 7.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray)	10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown)	Coarse breaks; black and white grits, unribbed	
29.	1873/3	896, street 1, south	IV	E/7	7.5YR 2/0 (black); 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)—most of rim and interior below rim	7.5YR 4/2 (dark brown)	Coarse, thick ware; white grits; very shallow, dense ribbing on body	

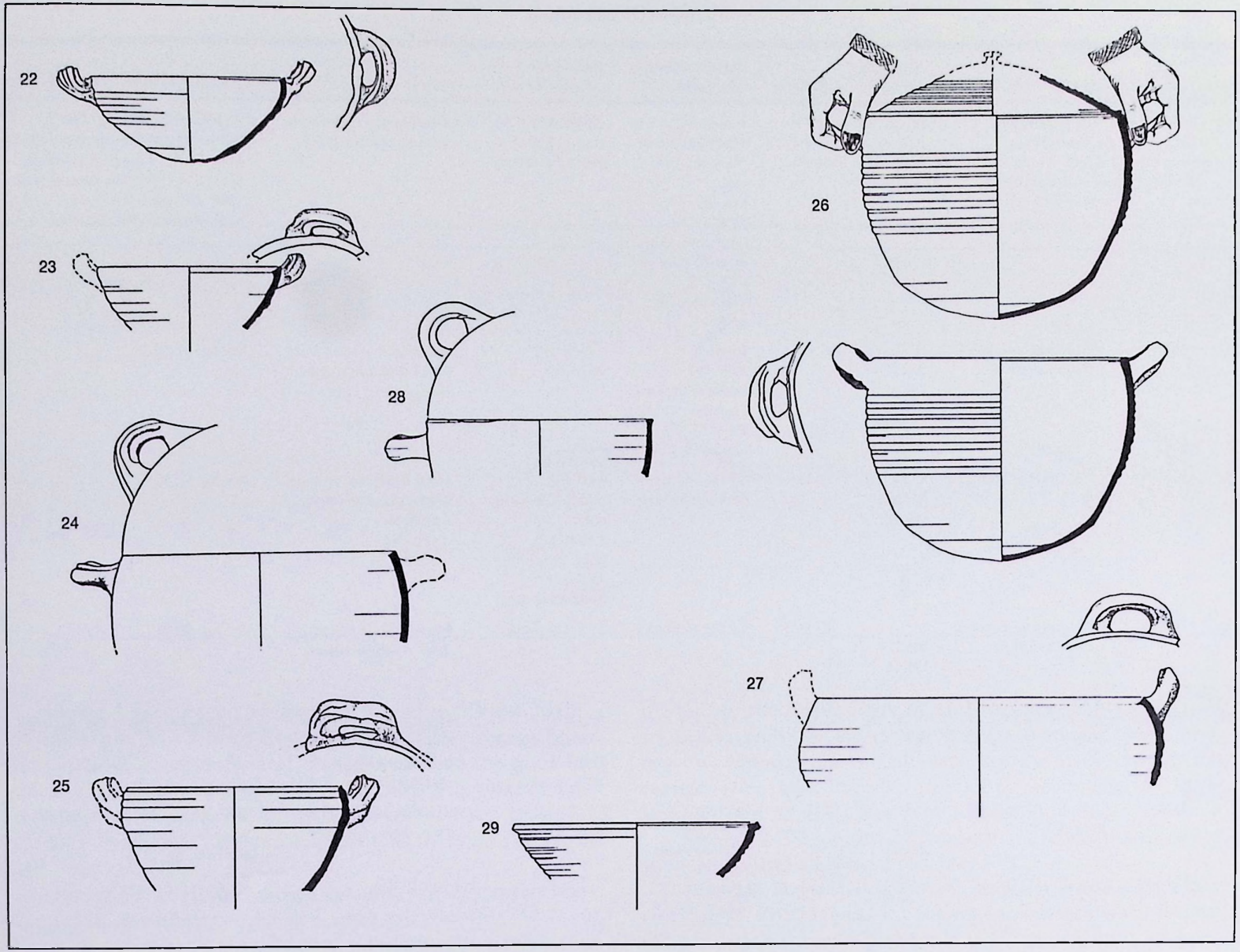

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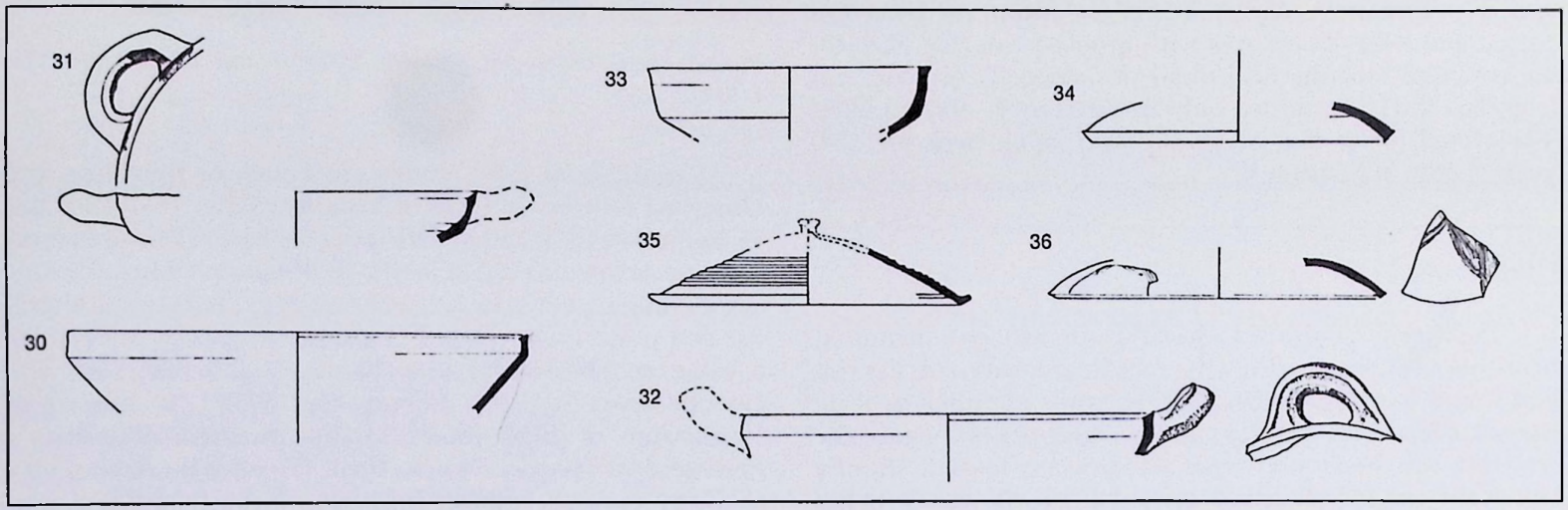
Figure 52, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
30.	1822/4	875, building A, room 5	IV, III, II, I	C/5	Interior: 5YR 4/2 (dark reddish gray); exterior: 5YR 3/1 (very dark gray); exterior rim: 5YR 4/2 (dark reddish gray)	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	Hard fired, coarse ware; white grits; unribbed	Bagatti 1969: 287, fig. 226: 7; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 32–33, plate 53: 28; *Cafarnao* II: 48, fig. 11: 1, 3, 4, Tipo C5; Meyers et al. 1981: 124, plate 8.4: 7–13; Loffreda 1983: 361, fig. 8:1
31.	1584/1	822, building I, room 2, floor at 197.47	*II*, 197.32–197.52	C/9	Interior: 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); exterior: 5Y 4/1 (dark gray)	7.5YR 4/2 (brown)	Hard fired, coarse ware; black and white grits; unribbed	See fig. 52.30
32.	2104/1	1036, street 1, floor at 198.30	V, IV, III, 197.87–198.22	C–D/6–7	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); core: 2.5YR 4/0 (dark gray); 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	Hard fired, coarse ware; black and white grits; unribbed	See fig. 52.30
33.	1528/9	806, building F, room 1, floor at 197.03	I, 196.72–196.98	C–D/5	2.5Y 2/0 (black)	2.5Y 2/0 (black)	Black and white grits; thick ware; unribbed	See fig. 52:30
Lids								
34.	1936/14	910, building C, room 1	V, IV, III, II, I	C/7	7.5YR 4/2 (dark brown)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); 5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; white grits; very shallow ribbing from mid-body	Tushingham 1972: 135, fig. 4: 90
35.	2334	1066, building B, floor at 198.74	*V*, IV, III, II, I, 198.69	E/7	Interior: 7.5YR 3/2 (dark brown); exterior: 5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	7.5YR 3/2 (dark brown)	Black and white grits; deep, dense ribbing	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 33, plate 54: 17; Smith 1973: 231, plate 30, no. 1125

Figure 52, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
36.	2165/2	1051, building D, room 2 (baulk)	V	B-C/8-9	5YR 5/1, 5/2, 5/3, 5/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	Hard fired ware; tiny white grits; incised, combed decoration	*Cafarnao* II: 51, foto 10: 1-6, Tipo C 8; Meyers et al. 1981: 123-24, plate 8.4: 22-26, for decoration; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 33, plate 43: 34-36



Strata V-II yielded variants of the closed form, with a globular, shallow ribbed body, either loosely or closely set, with vertical, short necks and rims, rounded on the outer face and slightly flattened within (fig. 52.2, 3). The ware is thin. At Bethany a variant of this has been regarded as a Byzantine or Early Arab type (Saller 1957: 246), as at Pella (McNicoll et al. 1982: 11, 160).

Strata IV-II yielded closed variants with globular body, elongated, unribbed neck, and grooved rim (fig. 52.7-10). The ribbing on the body varies and the handles stretch from the rim to the upper body or mid-shoulder. Also from these strata are globular vessels having an elongated neck, deep, narrow ribbing (or no ribbing) on the neck, and a flat, everted rim, with handles stretching from rim to upper shoulder (fig. 52.4-6). The ware is thin.

Strata IV-III yielded a form with a globular body, short, squat neck, and a grooved rim (fig. 52.17).

Stratum II yielded a closed, neckless form with folded rim (fig. 52.19). This type is known in contexts of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. at Khirbet Shema^{c}, as well as during the

Umayyad period there (Meyers et al. 1976: 218) and even later (Ben-Tor et al. 1979: 79). It is claimed that the later type is to be found mostly in Transjordan, and that the center of production was in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, with examples from Khirbet Shemaʿ being among the earliest. (For the construction techniques of closed forms, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 109.)

The type of cooking-pots with elongated, unribbed neck and vertical rim flattened on the inside (fig. 52.4–6) does not appear in Stratum V, but is attested only from the Umayyad period and later. The forms with grooved rim (fig. 52.8–13) are common, but the horizontal or "stepped" grooved rim (e.g., fig. 52.11) is attested only in Stratum V, and no later. The closed forms (fig. 52.14–16) with squat neck are also attested only in Stratum V.

Open Forms

This group comprises several distinct shapes, including hemispherical bowls with wide mouth and inverted, flat rim and round base (fig. 52.20–23). The walls are thick or thin, coarse or fine, with deep or shallow, wide-set ribbing on the exterior; two horizontal loop handles are located slightly below the rim, or are tilted upward above the rim. Often a strip from the base upward is left unribbed. Variations of these forms are found in Byzantine and Early Arab deposits (e.g., at Nazareth, Bagatti 1969: 287–88; at Pella, Smith 1973: 230; McNicoll et al. 1982: 148; at Bethany, Saller 1957: 246). This type is found at Capernaum in all five strata.

Another form of open vessel is a deep round bowl with flat or round, slightly inverted rim and round base. It may have no external ribbing or be ribbed in various ways (deep, shallow, wide-set, or close-set). Such bowls have horizontal loop handles located below the rim, often tilted upward, sometimes even rising above the rim almost vertically (fig. 52.24–27).

Fig. 53a–b. Cooking-pot strainer, exterior and interior (B 1593, L 834).

Variations of these bowls are found in Byzantine and Umayyad contexts, such as at Bethany (Saller 1957: 246) and Pella (Smith 1973: 230; McNicoll et al. 1982: 148). This form is found at Capernaum in Strata IV–I, but no earlier.

A rather rare form is a bowl having slightly thickened, flat rim projecting outward from the line of the body, with a ridge and horizontal loop handles below the rim. The exterior bears very flat ribbing (fig. 52.28). It appears at Capernaum in Strata III–I. Another uncommon form is a hemispherical bowl of thick, hard, coarse ware having very shallow, external ribbing from below the ledged rim (fig. 52.29). At Capernaum, this form was found in Stratum IV—the Umayyad phase.

A very common form is the "casserole" (often called "carinated bowl") with no external ribbing, a wide mouth and a pronounced rim, flat in profile (fig. 52.30–33). Horizontal loop handles are often tilted upward beyond the rim. The contours may be sharp or rounded. These bowls, with pronounced rim, have a long history: variants are regarded as Roman and Byzantine, such as at Capernaum (*Cafarnao* II: 48), sites such as Nazareth (Bagatti 1969: 287), Khirbet Kerak (Delougaz and Haines 1960: 32–33), and Meiron (Meyers et al. 1981: 124). This type is attested at Capernaum in all five

Figure 54. Juglets

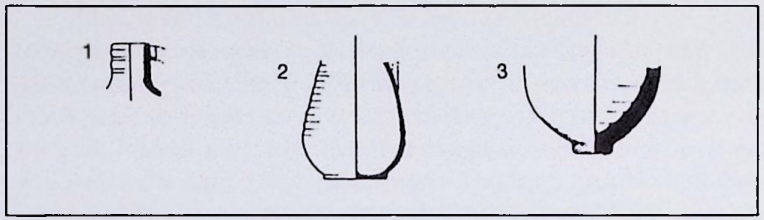
No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	530/22	102, street 1, drain	*V*	C/6-7	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Black and white grits; sharp breaks; ribbing on neck; narrow, shallow set ribbing on body	
2.	2103/1 (base)	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	*III*, 197.67-198.02	C/5-6	7.5YR 7/4 (pink); wash: 2.5YR 2.5/4 (dark red)	7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Thin ware; shallow ribbing on body; black and white grits	
3.	1601/8 (base)	835, building A, room 3, floor at 197.74	*III*, 197.61-197.85	E/5	2.5Y 3/0 (very dark gray)	5Y 4/1 (dark gray)	Hard ware; black and white grits; shallow, wide set ribbing on body	

strata; it would be difficult, however, to draw any typological-chronological conclusions concerning the open type of cooking-pot. (For the construction techniques of these forms, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 89-90.)

The lids of these cooking-pots are of three types:

flat rim, unribbed; coarse ware (fig. 52.34)
everted ledged rim, shallow and narrow ribbing (fig. 52.35)
unribbed surface with combed decoration (fig. 52.36)

The first two lid types appear at Capernaum in all five strata and seem to be very common types. The first type (fig. 52.34), however, has been considered a more Byzantine form (e.g., at Dhiban, Tushingham 1972: 135), whereas the second type (fig. 52.35) is regarded as an Arab form (as at Pella, Smith 1973: 231; and at Kursi, Tzaferis 1983: 33). The third type (fig. 52.36), which is more elaborate, is very common in Stratum V at Capernaum, but does not appear in any of the later strata. It is viewed as Roman at Capernaum (*Cafarnao* II: 51), and as Byzantine and Early Arab at Meiron (Meyers et al. 1981: 124). At Khirbet Kerak (Delougaz and Haines 1960: 33), they are referred to as plates that "may have served as lids."



It is sometimes claimed (e.g., by Smith 1973: 231) that the nature of the ware may indicate differences in dating (in this case, Byzantine or Arab). The coarse ware at Capernaum seems to appear throughout all five phases, whereas the finer sort is present only in the three earlier strata (V-III). The red ware is clearly more common in the earliest phase—Stratum V. Deep, widely ribbed forms, as well as unribbed forms, are present in all phases of occupation. Shallow, wide-set ribbing is present only in Strata IV and III. Although the different types of handle are sometimes regarded as indicators of dating (e.g., by Bagatti 1969: 288, n 32; Meyers et al. 1981:

123; Prausnitz et al. 1967: 44; Smith 1973: 223), both the horizontal and the tilted types appear at Capernaum in all five strata, displaying no significant changes throughout the sequence.

JUGLETS
(Figure 54.1–3)

Only a few diagnostic sherds of juglets were found in stratified deposits and it is impossible to draw any chronological or typological conclusions concerning this group.

JUGS
(Figure 55.1–12)

The jug types display a variety of shapes, differentiated also by quality and texture of the ware. They vary from thick-walled to thin-walled; the ware is hard or low-fired, with a smooth or porous surface. Most examples have a coarse fracture, and all the sherds have white and black inclusions. Some of the jugs are of the same ware as the cooking-pots. Table 4 shows the various jug forms by strata.

Among the jugs from Stratum V, there is one of cooking-pot material with a narrow neck, a wide mouth, and flaring, collared rim profile (fig. 55.3). Another example has a pronounced, round body with ribbing, a wide mouth, and an inverted round rim profile; a handle stretches from below the rim to the upper shoulder; it also is of cooking-pot material (fig. 55.5). A similar form is dated at Kursi (Tzaferis 1983: 4, 34, 60) to the 7th century A.D. Of this same phase is a jug (fig. 55.8) with narrow neck and mouth, and short, overhanging rim, as well as a jug type with straight-sided walls, a ribbed neck, and a thickened rim (fig. 55.9–10).

A jug type (fig. 55.6), having a narrow slightly swelled neck and sharp transition from neck to body, with a thickened rim, has been found in both Strata V and IV; it is made of cooking-pot material.

TABLE 4. Distribution of Jugs

	Stratum				
Form	V	IV	III	II	I
1			■		
2		■	■		
3	■				
4				■	
5	■				
6	■	■			
7			■		
8	■				
9	■				
10	■				
11					■
12					■

A jug type (fig. 55.2) having a narrow neck, a wide mouth, and an everted thick rim appears in Strata IV and III. A similar shape (denoted "juglet") was found at Meiron, in an earlier context of the 3rd to mid-4th centuries A.D. (Meyers et al. 1981: 123, 178—Stratum IV there).

A jug (fig. 55.1) having a narrow collared neck, a narrow mouth, and an everted round rim with a pronounced ridge at mid-neck was found in Stratum III. To the same phase belongs a jug (fig. 55.7) that is reminiscent of figure 55.8 (see above), although it has a wider neck and is less folded at the rim.

A jug (fig. 55.4) having a funnel-shaped mouth (unevenly formed) and a thick, round rim was found in Stratum II.

A trefoil jug (fig. 55.11) and a spouted jug (fig. 55.12) belong to Stratum I.

FLASKS
(Figure 56.1-3)

The three examples of flasks from stratified contexts at Capernaum vary in shape, though only mouth and neck fragments are recorded. All three have a narrow mouth and neck, with a sharp transition to the body. The variations have a thickened flat rim; a flat, inverted rim; and a tapered rim.

TWO-HANDLED JUGS
(Figures 57.1-8; 58, 59)

This group includes globular jugs with two opposing handles stretching from rim to upper shoulder, straight-sided neck, tapered rim, wide-set ribbing on the exterior of the body, and flat bases, with or without an interior omphalos (figs. 57.1-4; 58, 59). They are ca. 16.5 cm. high. All examples are from Strata V and IV. The same type is dated at Kursi to the 7th century A.D. (Period II—Tzaferis 1983: 4, 15, 34, 60—there denoted "jar"), which generally fits in with the Capernaum dating.

Of the same strata is a jug having a neck narrowing toward the mouth and with a ridge below the rim, at the transition to the neck, with handles attached at the rim (fig. 57.5). Another example (fig. 57.6), of globular shape, was not found in clearly stratified deposits; its ware is metallic (a second handle is conjectured). Similar jugs are dated at Khirbet Mefjer to the 8th century A.D. (Baramki 1944: 74).

Two juglet types (fig. 57.7, 8) are fairly rare at Capernaum; both are of a light ware. Figure 57.7 is a complete example of a globular shape; it is rather crudely made, with an unfinished base and carelessly applied loop-handles; the red-painted decoration is hardly visible. Figure 57.8 is a globular shape, with missing neck and rim, and thick, string-cut base, also left unfinished. A jar painted in a thin purplish-red was discovered at Al-Mina, dated to the 9th-10th centuries A.D. (Lane 1937: 38, 39). The examples from Capernaum were found in Strata III and II.

JARS
(Figure 60.1-60; plates 5a-h, 6c, 6d)

The jar group is divided into sub-groups that are differentiated by ware: red, dark (gray or black), and light firing wares. Each sub-group displays shapes of its own. Another sub-group includes jars that are light-painted. Table 5 shows the various jar forms by strata.

Red Ware Jars (fig. 60.1-30)

The fired colors of this ware are shades of reds and browns, and in most cases with white and black inclusions. The surface may be porous or smooth, low-fired or hard-fired, with a coarse or sharp fracture. Several shapes are included in this group, the most common of which is bag-shaped, with simple, or thickened-everted, inverted rims (fig. 60.1-11). Such forms appear throughout all strata on the site, so far precluding any typological, sequential conclusions. Comparative material has been found at Khirbet Shema^{c}, in 4th to 8th century A.D. contexts (Meyers et al. 1976: 227-29). Some of the forms have been dated to the Byzantine and Early Arab periods (Tzaferis 1975: 37-38; Winnet and Reed 1964: 72).

Strata V and IV have yielded jars with swelling necks, everted rim, and often having a collar at the joint between shoulder and neck (fig. 60.16-20). This type has parallels in 3rd to 5th century A.D. contexts at Khirbet Shema^{c} (Meyers et al. 1976: 220-22). The type has even been regarded as early Hellenistic, and as originating in the Galilee or Golan (Fernandez 1983: 107-8, 183, 229—Type T1.5).

[*text continues on p. 78*]

Figure 55. Jugs

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	1902/1	905, street 1, fill	III	D/7	10YR 8/4 (very pale brown)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Soft ware; porous surface; thick ware; black and white grits	Earlier relatives: *Cafarnao* II: 36, fig. 4: 6, Tipo A 10b; Loffreda 1976: 338–39, fig. 5: 2
2.	2084/17	1020, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60 (south)	*IV*, III, 198.39–198.52	D/6	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Many black and white grits; coarse breaks	Meyers et al. 1981: 123, 178, plate 8.2: 18
3.	2350/6	1069, building B, inside oven in floor at 198.74	*V*, 198.44–198.81	E/7	5YR 5/2 (reddish gray)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	Large black grits; tiny white grits; coarse breaks; ribbing on neck; cooking-pot material	
4.	1527/1	802, building H, room 1, floor at 197.38	*II*, 197.35	C/7–8	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Many black grits; coarse breaks; sandpaper-like surface	
5.	2321	1066, building B, floor at 198.74	*V*, 198.74	E/7	5YR 3/1 (very dark gray); 7.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)		Thin walls; ribbed	Tzaferis 1983: 4, 34, 60, fig. 8: 4
6.	2164/6	1050, building C, room 1, floor at 198.07 (west)	V, *IV*, 198.07–198.32	B–C/7	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); core: 2.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; many tiny black and white grits; cooking-pot material	
7.	2255/1	1068, street 4	III	E/7	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	7.5YR 5/6 (strong brown)	Black and white grits; sharp breaks; wide set ribbing on body	
8.	2245/4	1059, building D, room 2, floor at 198.93	*V*, 198.68–198.77	C/9	10R 5/6 (red)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Hard fired ware; smooth surface; sharp breaks; black grits	
9.	2055/8	1026, building C, room 2, pavement at 198.89	*V*, 198.75	C/7	10R 5/3 (weak red)	10R 5/8 (red)	Thin ware; shallow ribbing on body; black and white grits	
10.	2282/5	1064, street 2, pebble surface at 198.67	*V*, 198.62–198.67	D/7	2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Thin ware; shallow ribbing on body; uneven breaks; white grits; cooking-pot material	
11.	1593/4 trefoil	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 196.67–197.03	C/4	10YR 7/4 (very pale brown)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Tiny black and white grits; smooth surface; sharp breaks	

Figure 55, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
12.	524/15 spouted	102, courtyard 2, floor at 197.03	*I*, 196.80–197.03	C/6–7	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Soft ware; black grits; coarse breaks	

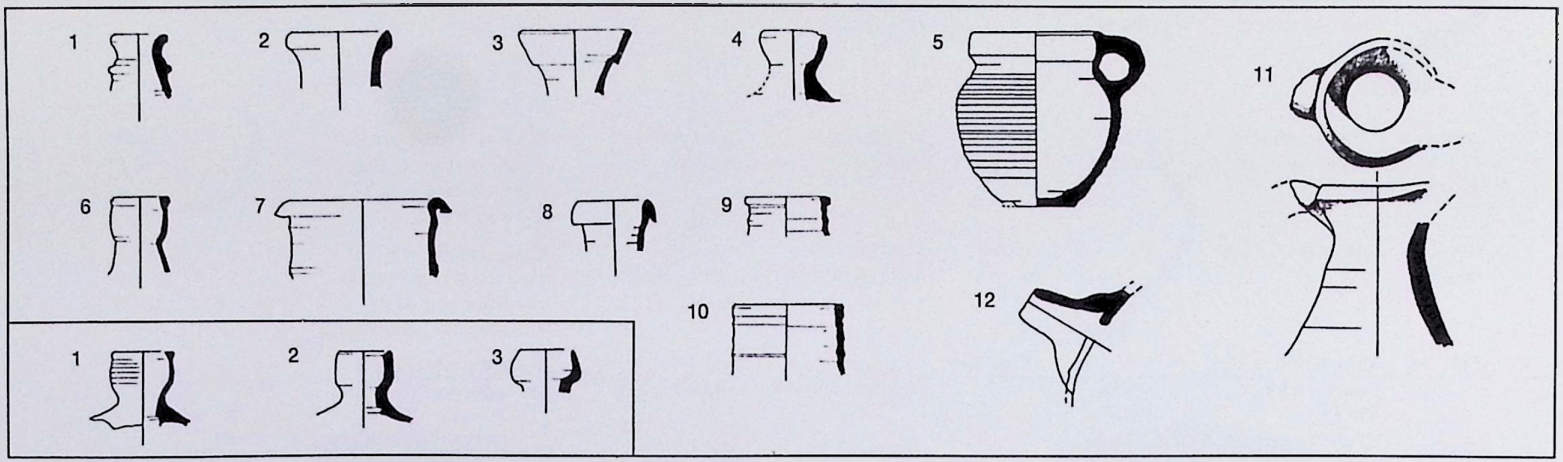


Figure 56. Flasks

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	1642/11	844, building L	V	B–C/7	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	5YR 7/4 (pink) light ware	Tiny white grits; porous surface; shallow, narrow set ribbing on rim and neck; thin in section	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 36, plate 57:6 (if restoration of rim is correct)
2.	2009/1	1002, building A, room 6, floor at 197.79	*III*, 197.79–197.91	C/5	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Soft ware; tiny black grits; area of rim porous; thin in section; shallow ribbing on rim and neck	
3.	2177/20	1036, street 1, floor at 198.45 (south)	V, *IV*, 198.23–198.41	C–D/6–7	10R 4/7 (red)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Soft, smooth ware; thick in section	

Figure 57. Two-handled Jugs

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.[a]	2335	1066, building B, floor at 198.74	*V*, 198.89	E/7	5YR 7/6, 7/8, 6/6, 6/8 (reddish yellow)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Tiny black and white grits; sandpaper-like surface; found within large jar (no. 2334)	Tzaferis 1983: 4, 34, 60, fig. 8: 2, 3 ("jar"); Loffreda 1983: 367, fig. 13: 12
2.[b]	2210/1	1029, building A, room 4, floor at 198.57	*IV*, 198.42–198.57	D/4–5	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)		Many tiny black and white grits; vessel deformed in restoration; probably originally with indentation	
3.	2296/3, 9, 17 (base)	1029, building A, room 4, floor at 198.57	*IV*, 198.56	D/4–5	7/5YR 5/4 (brown)	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Black and white grits; porous surface; coarse breaks; narrow set ribbing on body	
4.	535/2 (base)	102, street 1, drain	*V*	C/6–7	5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	Hard, metallic ware; burnished; sharp breaks; tiny black and white grits; smooth surface	
5.	2098/6	1006, building D, room 1, floor at 198.85	*V*, 198.60–198.85	C–D/8–9	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red)	Black and white grits; coarse breaks	
6.	1884/3	Wall 122	Unstr.		5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); slip: 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Metallic ware	Baramki 1944: 68–69, 74, fig. 15: 35–37 (esp. 36), Ware 10
7.	1130/2	701, earth floor at 200.94	*II*, 200.50–200.93	Area C	2.5Y 8/2, 8/4 (white, pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/2, 8/4 (white, pale yellow)	Soft, fine ware; tiny black grits; red painted decoration	Lane 1937: 38–39, fig. 3:E
8.	1163/1	706, plastered floor at 201.38	*III*, 201.38	Area C	2.5YR 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thin, soft ware; sharp breaks; smooth surface; tiny black grits	

[a] See also figs. 49, 58. [b] See also fig. 59.

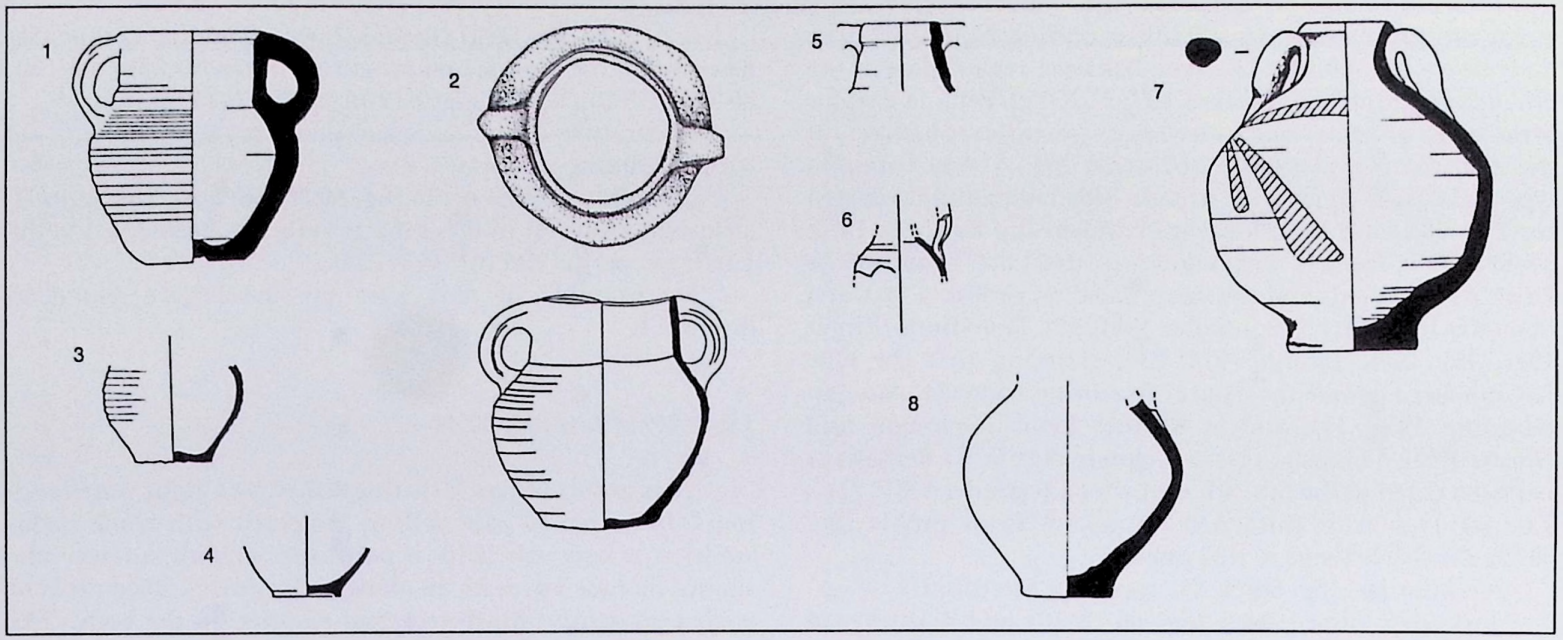


Fig. 58. Two-handled jug (figs. 49, 57.1).

Fig. 59. Two-handled jug (fig. 57.2).

Stratum IV has yielded a jar with a narrow body and a squat straight neck, having shallow ribbing from the upper body down (fig. 60.12). The type has been regarded as of the 5th–6th centuries A.D. (Yeivin 1973: 151); at Pella, a similar form is discussed as a soft-ware baggy jar without handles, of the Abbasid period (Smith 1973: 236–37). A very common type is the painted jar with straight-sided neck and thickened rim (fig. 60.13; for technique, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 86–89). This form is well known in the Late Byzantine or Early Arab period, and has been dated accordingly at Kursi (Tzaferis 1983: 34), Nebo (Saller 1941: 47), Herodium (Birger 1981: 75), Pella (Smith 1973: 234, claiming that the type has not been found in a pure, Byzantine context), Amman (Harding 1951: 11), and at Khirbet Kerak (Delougaz and Haines 1960: 35, where it is not closely dated). At Bethany it has been dated to the 6th–8th centuries A.D. (Saller 1957: 214). The jar type with thickened, "squarish" rim profile (fig. 60.22, 23) also belongs to this phase.

Neckless jars (fig. 60.24, 25) appear in Stratum III.

Jars with ribbed neck (fig. 60.28–30) and a thickened rim have been found in Strata III and II.

Jars with globular body, being ca. 55 cm. high, and everted, round, thickened rims (fig 60.26, 27; plate 6c, 6d) are found in Strata IV, III, and I. The ware is a pinkish orange color and is of very smooth, soft texture.

Dark Ware Jars (fig. 60.31–39)

This group is characterized by a dark-fired ware, mostly of dark gray tones, tempered with white and black inclusions. It includes jars with elongated or short neck, occasionally swelled, and everted or inverted rim profile, often collared.

To Stratum V belong jars with a collared rim (fig. 60.38, 39), a profile known from the Hellenistic period on (Tzaferis 1980: 73); at Rama it is dated to the 3rd–4th centuries A.D. A jar (fig. 60.32) with simple, thickened rim is also of this stratum.

A jar type (fig. 60.31) having flaring neck and simple rim flattened on the outside and projecting outwards, and one (fig. 60.37) with thickened, everted rim profile, is of Stratum IV.

Of Stratum III are two examples (fig. 60.33, 34) with no special features.

Jars with swelled necks (fig. 60.35, 36) are of Stratum II, although a variant of this type at Pella has been dated to the Umayyad period (Smith 1973: 233).

No example of dark-ware jars have been found in Stratum I.

Light Ware Jars (fig. 60.40–52)

This group of jars is distinguished by a light ware ranging from white to pale yellow, tempered with black inclusions; it is very soft, with a porous or smooth surface. The shapes include jars with an elongated, closely ribbed neck, or with a short, unribbed neck and ribbing on the body. The rim profiles vary from plain to round inverted or grooved, round thickened, tapered, squarish with smooth transition from rim to neck, or with a ridge between rim and neck.

This group is present in Strata IV–I at Capernaum, with higher concentrations in Strata IV and III. Some jar shapes show a continuity throughout all strata, while others were of more limited duration. According to Smith (1973: 230, 233), the specific ware may be of chronological significance; for example, there are fewer red wares in the Umayyad period in comparison to the Byzantine period, and the Umayyad ware is softer than the Byzantine. Smith claims that the dark ware tends to decline in Abbasid contexts, whereas buff ware may have supplemented it in the Abbasid period.

Analysis of the material from Capernaum indicates that the red ware is more common in Stratum V (Late Byzantine–Early Arab) than the light or dark ware. This red ware is,

[*text continues on p. 90*]

TABLE 5. Distribution of Jars

Ware	Stratum V	IV	III	II	I
Red					
1	■				
2			■		
3			■	■	■
4				■	
5					■
6		■	■		
7					■
8				■	
9		■			
10					■
11		■			
12		■			
13		■			
14		■			
15	■				
16	■				
17	■				
18	■				
19	■				
20		■			
21	■				
22		■			
23		■			
24			■		
25			■		
26					■
27		■	■		
28				■	
29				■	
30			■		
Dark					
31		■			
32	■				
33		■	■		
34			■		
35				■	
36				■	
37		■			
38	■				
39	■				
Light					
40			■	■	
41			■		
42					■
43		■	■	■	
44		■	■	■	
45		■	■	■	■
46		■			
47			■		
48					■
49		■			
50				■	■
51		■	■	■	
52		■			

Figure 60. Jars

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Red Ware								
1.	2288	1066, building B, floor at 198.74	*V*, 198.50–198.63	E/7	Rim, neck: 5YR 7/4 (pink); body: 10YR 8/2 (white)	10YR 6/1 (gray)	Tiny white and black grits	
2.	1786/10	872, building A, room 4	III	C/5–6	5YR 6/3 (light reddish brown)	2.5Y 5/2 (grayish brown)	Hard, coarse ware; porous surface; medium black and white grits	
3.	501/5	101, courtyard 1	III, II, I	C/5–6	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	Thick, soft ware; exterior slipped; tiny white and black grits	
4.	2229/5	1062, building G, room 4, plastered installation	*II*	D/8	5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	7.5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	White grits; coarse breaks	
5.	1593/12	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 196.67–197.03	C/4	7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	5YR 5/1 (gray)	Thin, hard fired ware; tiny black grits	Meyers et al. 1976: 227–29, plate 7.21: 19, Type 4
6.	2177/1	1036, street 1, floor at 198.45 (south)	*IV*, III, 198.23–198.41	C–D/6–7	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	2.5YR 5/6 (red)	Coarse, hard fired ware; porous surface; yellowish fibers as temper; large black and white grits; interior: thumb impressions at upper join of handle	
7.	1544/3	816, building A, pavement at 197.12	*I*, 196.81–197.23	E/6	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	2.5YR 5/6 (red); core: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown)	Soft ware; clean breaks; tiny black and white grits	Winnet and Reed 1964: 72, plate 65: 5; Tazferis 1975: 38, plate 18: 1, Type 12 (different clay); Corbo 1955: 61, fig. 16: 2, 3
8.	2369/4	1082, south of building F, floor at 197.31	*II*, 197.23	F/4	10YR 4/1 (dark gray)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); core: 10YR 5/1 (gray)	Black and white grits; sharp breaks	
9.	1921/1	908, building C, room 2, on step	*IV*, 198.34–198.37	C/7	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); core: 7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Black and white grits; coarse breaks	

Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
10.	1523/2	805, courtyard 1 (west), pavement at 196.84	*I*, 197.01–197.01	C–D/5	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	5Y 6/1 (gray)	Hard ware; black and white grits	
11.	2277	1066, building B, floor at 198.74	V, 198.35–198.50	E/7	10R 5/6 (red)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Porous surface; black and white grits	
12.	1171/1	717, plastered floor at 201.76	*IV*, 201.56–201.78	Area C	2.5YR 5/8 (red)	2.5YR 5/8 (red)	Thick walls, coarse breaks; black and white grits; wide set, shallow ribbing on body	Yeivin 1973: 151, 153, fig. 8: 15; Loffreda 1983: 366, fig. 12:2; Smith 1973: 236, 237, plate 70: no. 186

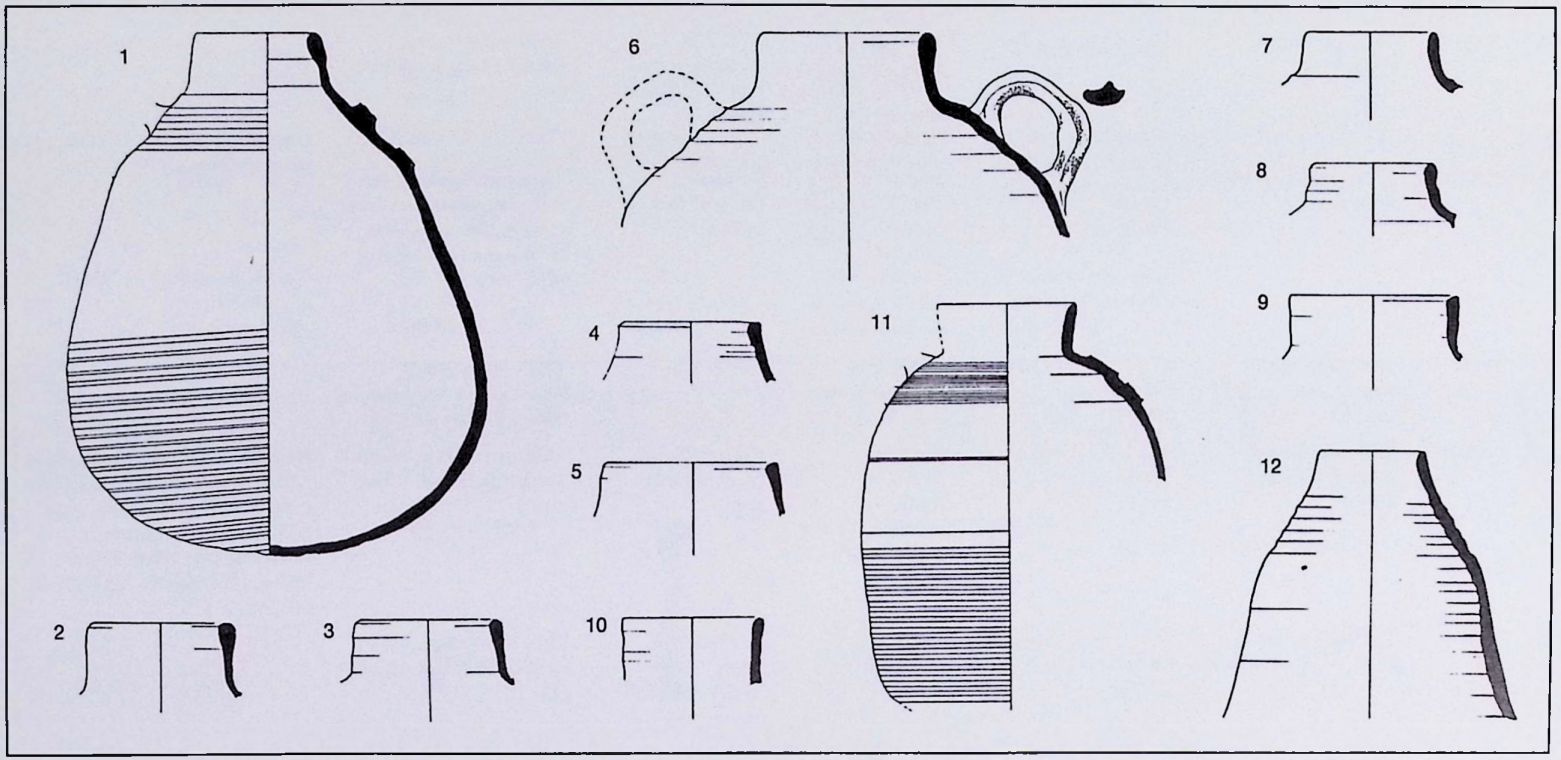


Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
13.	1927/2	908, building C, room 2, floor at 198.60	*IV*, 198.37–198.61	C/7	Slip: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red); paint: 10R 4/3 (weak red)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Black grits; clean breaks	Sellin and Watzinger 1913: 162, plate 44: B3; Saller 1957: 214, fig. 43: no. 3272 = plate 113: 2; Tzaferis 1983: 34, 60, fig. 8: 6–8; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 35, plate 58: 4; Smith 1973: 234, plates 30: 492, 1101, 45: 488; *Cafarnao* II: 137, foto 32, fig. 50; Birger 1981: 75, plate 12: 8; Harding 1951: 11, 12, fig. 3: 39, 47, 61, 62, 65; Schneider 1950: 25, 26, 43–47, 183–84, plates 147, 148; Loffreda 1983: 367, fig. 12:9
14.	1611/4	842, building A, room 3, pit	IV	E/5–6	Interior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); slip: 2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow); core: 2.5YR 6/0 (gray)	Thin ware; coarse breaks; black and white grits	
15.	2282/13	1064, street 2, pebble floor at 198.67	*V*, 198.62–198.67	D/7	Interior: 10YR 5/2 (grayish brown, brown); exterior: 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	7.5YR 4/4 (brown, dark brown)	Thin ware cooking-pot material; sandpaper-like surface; uneven, coarse breaks; many black and white grits	
16.	2098/11	1006, building D, room 1, floor at 198.85	*V*, 198.60–198.85	C–D/8–9	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Thick walls; sharp breaks; black and white grits, uniform in color	
17.	2222/8	1063, building A, room 1, floor at 198.91	*V*, 198.84–198.92	E/6	Interior: 5YR 7/4 (pink); exterior: 7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Core: 5YR 4/1 (dark reddish gray)	Thin ware; clean, sharp breaks; black and white grits	Meyers et al. 1976: 220–22, plates 7.20: 5–16, 33–51, 7.21: 1–4, Type 1; Meyers et al. 1981: 129, plate 8.28: 5–8 (survey pottery); Loffreda 1983: 369–70, fig. 16: 13, 16 (esp.); Fernandez 1983: 107–8, 183, 209, T 1.5.
18.	1206/7	729, floor at 201.95	*V*, 201.80–201.95	Area C	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	2.5YR 5/8 (red); core: 2.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	Thin ware; sharp, clean breaks; black and white grits	

Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
19.	2153/4	1039a, building A, room 1, floor at 198.90	*V*, 198.78–199.00	D/6	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Thin ware; very soft; sharp breaks; many black and white grits	
20.	2114/7	1039, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.60–198.64	D/6	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	Soft ware; clean, uneven breaks; black and white grits	
21.	2222/17	1063, building A, room 1, floor at 198.97	*V*, 198.84–198.92	E/6	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Thick, hard fired ware; coarse breaks; tiny white grits	
22.	2196/4	1036, street 1, floor at 198.45 (south)	*IV*, 198.23–198.49	C–D/6–7	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Many black and white grits; sharp, clean breaks	
23.	2200/2	1028, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.57	*IV*, 198.31–198.48	D/6	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	White grits; coarse breaks	
24.	1588/4	830, building A, room 3, floor at 197.74	*III*, 197.62–197.73	E/5	5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown); core: 7.5YR 5/0 (gray)	Thick, hard fired ware; soft ware; coarse breaks; black and white grits	
25.	1897/3	860, building D, room 1, floor at 197.90 (south)	*III*, 197.73–198.09	C–D/8–9	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Thick ware; coarse breaks; tiny black and white grits	

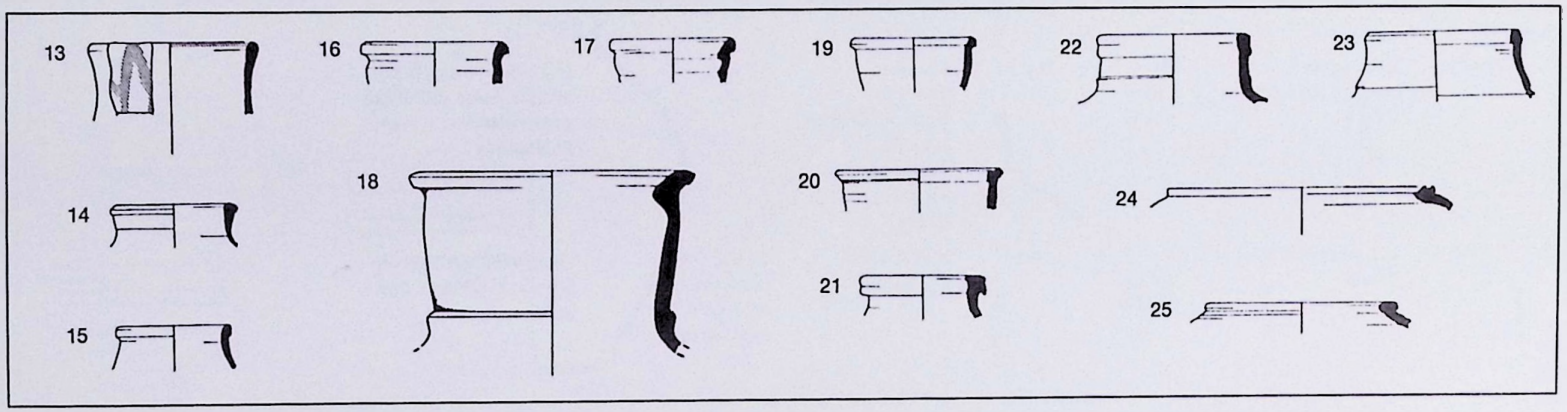


Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
26.	1856	898, courtyard 1, sunk in floor at 197.15	*I*, 197.18–197.61	C/7	2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)			
27.	2103/4	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	IV, *III*, 197.67–198.02	C/5–6	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Hard fired, thin ware; sharp breaks; tiny black and white grits	
28.	1527/2	802, building H, room 1, floor at 197.38	*II*, 197.35	C/7–8	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	2.5YR 4/8 (red)	Small black and white grits	
29.	1767/5	870, building F, room 2, floor at 197.39	*II*, 197.37–197.41	C–D/4	5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown)	7.5YR 5/6 (strong brown)	Many black grits; uneven, coarse breaks; cooking-pot material	
30.	2026/1	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	*III*, 197.78–197.93	C/5–6	Interior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown); exterior: 2.5Y 3/0 (very dark gray); 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown)	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	Black and white grits; porous surface; coarse breaks	
Dark Ware								
31.	2198/20	1048, street 1 (south), pavement at 198.40	*IV*, 198.37–198.45	D–E/7	Interior: 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown); exterior: 5Y 5/1 (gray)	5Y 5/1 (gray)	Hard fired ware; sharp breaks; black and white grits visible on surface; pockmarks	
32.	1205/13	728, plastered floor at 202.08	*V*, 201.99–202.00	Area C	2.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	2.5YR 4/0 (dark gray); core: 5YR 5/8 (yellowish red)	Hard fired ware; coarse breaks; black and white grits	

Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
33.	1858/7	898, courtyard 1	IV, III	C/7	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	2.5Y 5/0 (gray)	Hard ware; tiny black grits; coarse ware; wide set shallow ribbing on body	Smith 1973: 233, plate 31: 284
34.	1595/6	830, building A, room 3, floor at 197.74	*III*, 197.63–197.73	E/5	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	Hard fired ware; smooth surface; sharp breaks; black and white grits	
35.	2229/3	1062, building G, room 4, plastered installation	*II*	D/8	7.5YR 3/0 (very dark gray)	7.5YR 3/2 (dark brown)	Sharp breaks; ridge at top of shoulder	Smith 1973: 226, plate 45: 1331 (bi-ansulate)

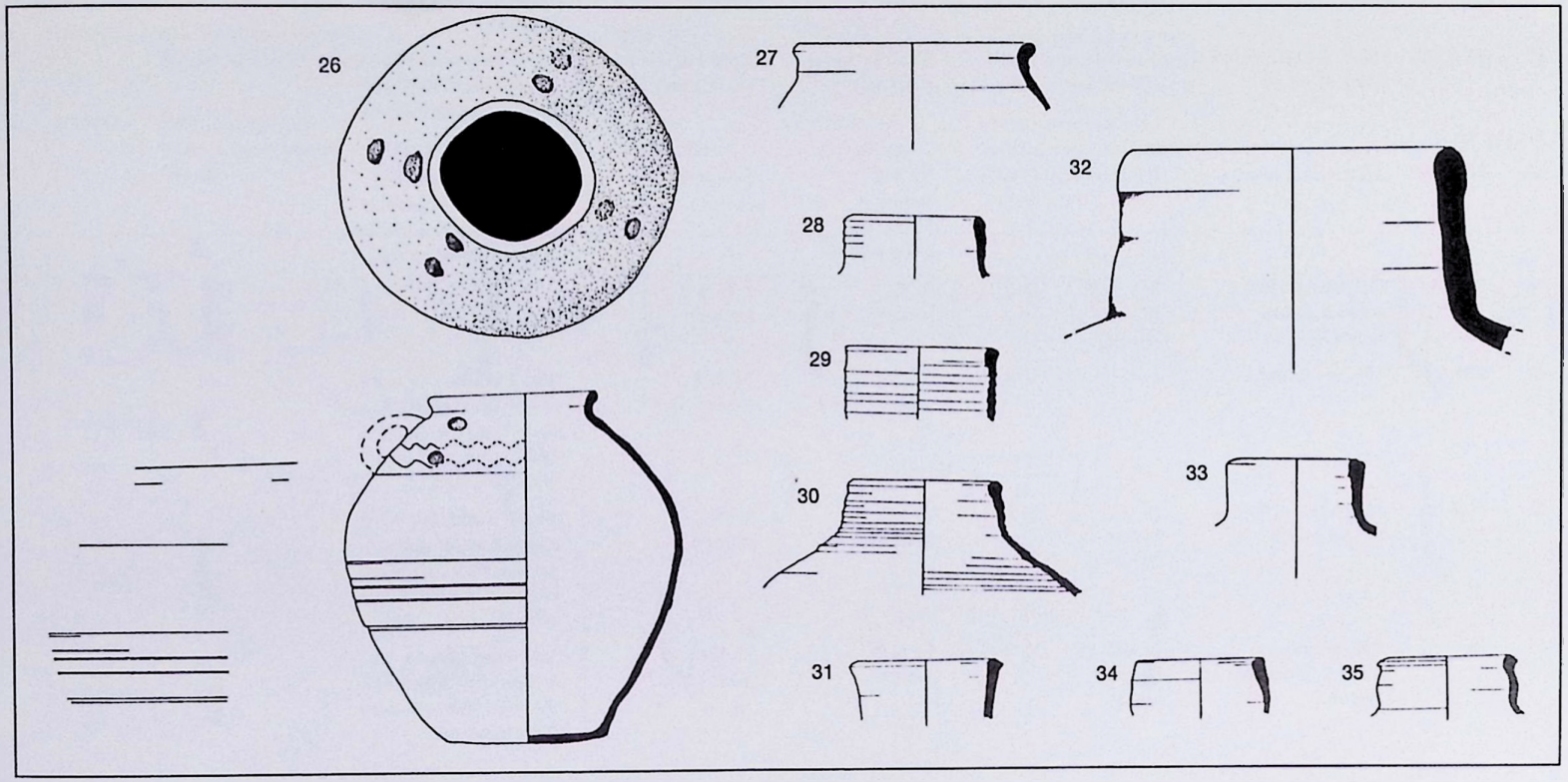


Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
36.	2349/15	1082, south of building F, cobble floor at 197.31	*II*, 198.23	F/4	5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	5YR 3/1 (very dark gray)	Hard fired ware; sharp breaks; black and white grits; wide set shallow ribbing on body	
37.	2048/2	1023, building C, room 2, floor at 198.60	*IV*, 198.39–198.64	C/7	10YR 4/1 (dark gray); 10YR 5/2 (grayish brown)	10YR 5/1 (gray); 10YR 5/2 (grayish brown)	Thin ware; tiny white and black grits; uneven breaks	
38.	2098/1	1006, building D, room 1, floor at 198.85	*V*, 198.60–198.85	C–D/8–9	5YR 4/4 (reddish brown); 5YR 3/1 (very dark gray)	7.5YR 4/2 (brown, dark brown)	Thick hard fired ware; sharp breaks; white grits; ribbing below ridge at mid-neck	
39.	2357/10	1080, street 2, pebble floor at 198.67	*V*, 198.67	D/8	5Y 4/1 (dark gray)	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	Hard fired ware; uneven breaks; black and white grits; ridge below rim	
Light Ware								
40.	513/1	102a, courtyard 2	III, II	C/6–7	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thick walls; porous surface; coarse breaks; tiny black grits; shallow, dense ribbing on neck	
41.	1830/4	893, building A, room 2, bench removal	*III*, 197.51–197.88	D/5	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)		
42.	520/9	101, courtyard 1	I	C/5–6	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Thick walls, soft ware; coarse breaks; tiny black grits; shallow, narrow ribbing on neck and below handles	
43.	1808/10	885, street 1, floor at 197.66 (north)	IV, III, II, 197.31–197.63	C/6–7	5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Thick walls; soft ware; coarse breaks; porous surface; deep, wide set ribbing on neck; black grits	
44.	1847/3	897, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.31	*IV*, III, II, 198.03–198.21	D–E/5–6	5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Soft ware; porous surface; tiny black grits; shallow, wide set, even ribbing on neck	

Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
45.	1793/4	872, building A, room 4	IV, III, II, I	C/5–6	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thick walls; black grits; narrow ribbing on body; ridge below rim	Tzaferis 1983: 33, 58, fig. 7: 10
46.	2177/8	1036, street 1, floor at 198.45 (south)	*IV*, 198.23–198.41	C–D/6–7	2.5Y 8/2 (white); 2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/2 (white); 2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Thin ware; tiny black grits; sharp, clean breaks	
47.	2083/2	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	*III*, 197.88–198.07	C/5–6	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Soft ware; porous surface; clean breaks; tiny black grits; ridge below rim; unribbed	
48.	1593/6	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 196.67–197.03	C/4	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.4Y 8/2 (white)	Thick walls; soft ware; clean breaks; black grits; ridge at bottom of neck	
49.	2039/4	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.31–198.62	D–E/6	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Soft ware; porous surface; uneven breaks; tiny black grits; unribbed	

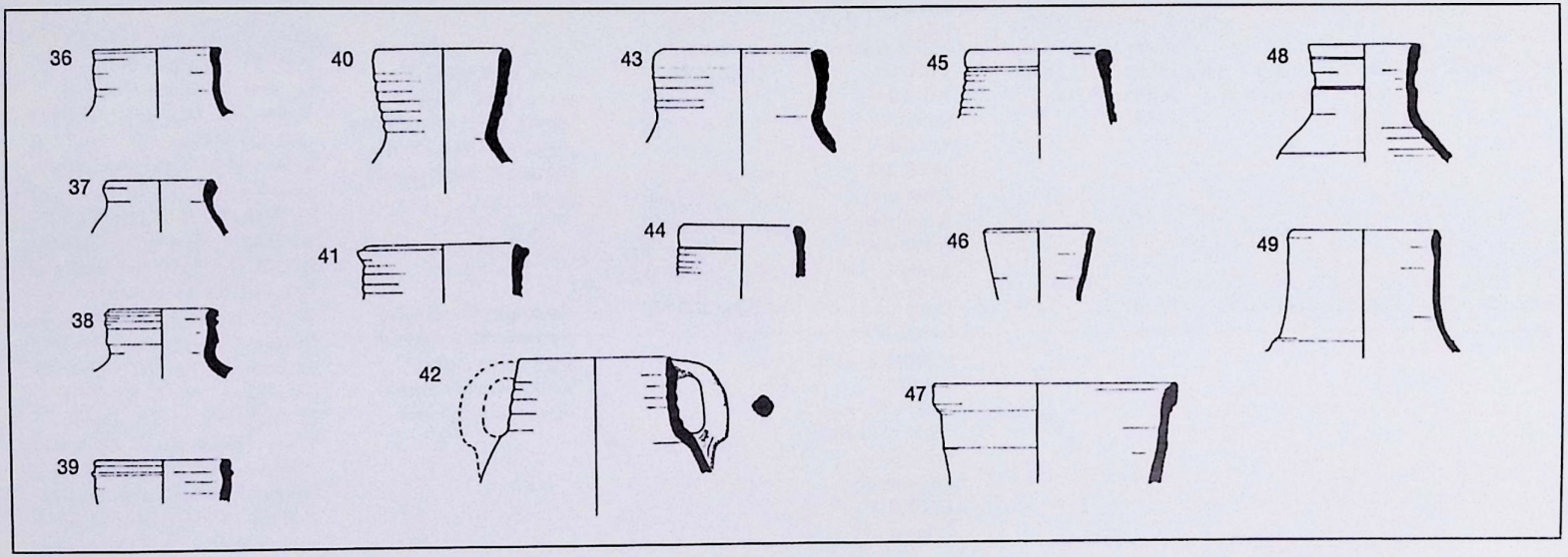


Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
50.	1599/18	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	II, *I*, 196.67–196.91	C/4	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Thick walls; soft ware; black grits	
51.	1845/3	896, street 1 (south)	IV, III, II	E/7	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thick walls; soft ware; porous surface; tiny black grits; unribbed	
52.	1921/3	908, building C, room 2, on step	*IV*, 198.34–198.37	C/7	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thin walls; sharp breaks; tiny black grits; very shallow ribbing from shoulder; ridge at rim	
Light Painted Jars								
53.*	2130/1	Wall 211	III		Interior: 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown); exterior: 10YR 4/1 (dark gray); decoration: 10YR 6/1 (gray)	5YR 5/1 (gray)	Hard fired, metallic ware; many black and white grits; clean breaks; thick in section; short strokes of painted lines	(*Light Painted Jars:*) Sellin and Watzinger 1913: 160, plate 43: A:2, Abb. 193:A, 3; Fitzgerald 1931: 37, plate XXXI: 25; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 81, plate XIV: 31; Baramki 1944: 66, 74, fig. 3: 1, 2, plate XIX: 1, 2, Ware 1; Schneider 1950: 21–24, 30–31, 43–45, plate 149:9ff.; Saller 1941: 137; Harding 1951: 11, 12, fig. 4: 41, 66, plate IV: 41, 66; Corbo 1955: 83, foto 75: 8, 10–12, plate 26; Dothan 1955: 24, fig. 8; Kelso and Baramki 1955: 35, 39, plates 16, 28: N53, 28: N51, Types 17, 39; Saller 1957: 209, fig. 39, no. 7042 = plate 112: 5; *Samaria* III: 361, fig. 84a:1; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 34, plates 35: 1–4, 55: 1–3; Ben-Tor 1966: 18, fig. 8: 5, plate III: 11; Smith 1973: 233–34, plates 31: no. 495, 45: no. 281, 92A, 85: no. 281; *Cafarnao* II: 43, 44, fig. 8: 7–9, 11–13, class B; Riley 1975: 26, 28, 31, no. 4, Type 3; Bisheh 1980: 72, plate XLIX: 4; Landgraf 1980: 80, figs. 21, 24b; Tzaferis 1975: 53; 1983: 33, fig. 7: 1, plate XIV: 1, 3; McNicoll et al. 1982: plates 146: 3, 148: 4, 6, 149
54.*	2084/2	1020, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.39–198.52	D/6	Interior: 10YR 5/1 (gray); exterior: 10YR 4/1 (dark gray); decoration: 10YR 6/1 (gray)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Hard fired, metallic ware; clean, sharp breaks; many tiny white grits; thick in section; elongated, thick painted lines	
55.*	2237/13	Wall 213, courtyard 1	IV, III	D/7	Interior: 2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); exterior: 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown); decoration: 10YR 8/2 (white)	2.5YR 4/6 (red)	Sandpaper-like surface; medium thickness; tiny black grits; coarse breaks; straight and zigzag painted lines	

Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
56.*	2170/6	1049, building A, room 6, pavement at 198.16	*IV*, 198.16–198.29	C–D/5–6	Interior: 2.5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); exterior: 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown); decoration: 10YR 8/2 (white); 2.5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 4/1 (dark gray)	Metallic ware; thick in section; black and white grits; sharp breaks; lines and circles painted decoration	
57.*	2253/1	Wall 213, courtyard 1	IV	D/7	Interior: 10YR 5/2 (grayish brown); exterior: 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown); decoration: 2.5YR 8/2 (white)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Thick ware; coarse in section; tiny black and white grits; spiral painted decoration	
58.*	2150/3	1038, street 4, pavement at 197.75	*III*, 197.45–197.73	E–F/7	Interior: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red); exterior: 2.5YR 4/2 (weak red); 2.5YR 4/6, 4/8 (red), 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown); decoration: 10YR 8/1, 8/2 (white)	5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)	Thin, hard fired metallic ware; sharp, clean breaks; lines and circles painted decoration	

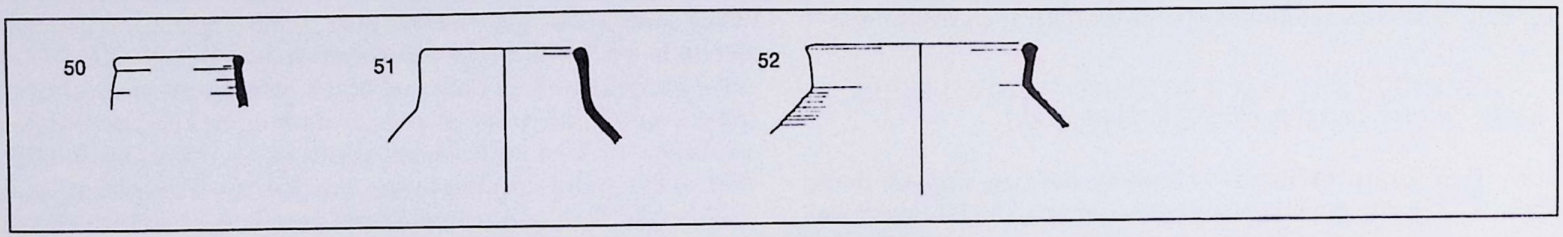


Figure 60, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
59.*	2176/1	1053, building A, room 1, threshold and steps	IV, 198.01–198.38	D/6	Interior: 2.5YR 6/8 (light red); exterior: 2.5YR 4/2 (weak red); decoration: 10YR 8/1 (white); 2.5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/2 (gray)	2.5YR 6/8 (light red)	Medium thickness; hard fired, metallic ware; sharp breaks; tiny black and white grits; painted vegetal design	
60.*	2114/3	1039, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*III*, 198.60–198.64	D/6	Interior: 2.5YR 5/8 (red); exterior: 2.5YR 3/4 (dark reddish brown); 2.5YR 3/2 (dark red); decoration: 5Y 8/2 (white)	5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow)	Thin, hard fired, metallic ware; sharp breaks; tiny black and white grits; painted circle patterns	

* Not illustrated in figures; see plate 5a–h.

however, common also in Stratum IV (Umayyad) and is at least as common as buff ware. From the Abbasid period on, red ware drops in popularity, whereas light ware remains common. The fact that dark ware is not attested in Stratum I may merely be accidental and of no chronological significance.

Light Painted Jars (fig. 60.53–60; plate 5a–h)

This group of sherds belong to the bag-shaped, ovoid jars family (for the shape and chronology, see Delougaz and Haines 1960: 34; Baramki 1944: 66; Rosenthal 1978: 15; Riley 1975: 26ff.; Landgraf 1980: 69–74; for technique, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 81–82). The ware is metallic, varying from thin (ca. 2.5–3.0 mm.) with a sharp, clean fracture, to thick and coarse (ca. 4.5–9.0 mm.), although thickness also depends on location of the sherd on the vessel. All sherds were tempered with white and black inclusions, in most cases very small. The ware is red or dark (gray) firing (for the existence of two different workshops, see Landgraf 1980: 67ff.). The paint applied to the exterior is white (often called "white clay" or "white slip decoration," e.g., by Franken and

Kalsbeek 1975: 81–82). It occasionally fused with the surface clay (Riley 1975: 31 refers, for example, to a greenish-white pattern). The painting is often clumsy and uneven, which might be due to the ribbed surface, "which did not permit accurate work" (as claimed by Bagatti 1969: 276; see also Smith 1973: 233). The paint (see Landgraf 1980: 74ff.) was probably applied with "a single or multiple brush prior to firing" (Smith 1973: 233).

The examples from Capernaum bear no trace of a slip beneath the paint, though there is evidence of a dark (bluish) slip at Nazareth (Bagatti 1969: 276), a brown slip at Pella (McNicoll et al. 1982: 149), and a black slip at Bethany (Saller, 1957: 209). The painted designs are geometric: wavy or straight lines, spirals, circles and concentric semi-circles, or vegetal.

This type of jar was widespread in Palestine, in both public and domestic contexts, as well as in tombs (e.g., at Jericho). It is attested in Byzantine contexts (e.g., at Caesarea, Siyar el-Ghanan, Khirbet Kerak, Shavei Zion, Capernaum, and Khirbet Usa) and continued in the Umayyad period (e.g., at Pella, Khirbet Mefjer, Khirbet Nitla, and Samaria). The ribbing may have chronological implications (Dothan 1955: 24; Bagatti 1969: 276; Bagatti 1971: 351–52; Tushingham 1972: 75; Schneider 1950: 43). The examples from Capernaum are too fragmentary to examine these claims. Some scholars date the type much later, for example, Dothan (1955: 24) dating the light painted ware to the 12th–13th centuries A.D., and Baly (1962: 280) dating the material from Nessana as post-A.D. 900

Light painted jars, but of shapes different from the examples mentioned above, are known at Corinth (Williams et al. 1974: 32, plate 8: 50—a long, narrow amphora) and at Athens (Robinson 1959: 84, 114–15, plates 32 and 35: M 329), where it is dated to the early 6th century A.D. (For an up-to-date bibliography on this type, see Landgraf 1980: nn 38ff.)

Light painted jars are attested at Capernaum in all five strata, with main concentrations in Strata IV and III.

PITHOI
(Figures 35; 61.1–9)

This group includes large ovoid, neckless vessels, varying slightly in features, rim profiles, decoration, and ware. The ware is white, light brown or gray, tempered in most cases with white and black inclusions. The rim profiles are everted (roundish or flat) or inverted (plain or thickened), often with a ridge on the interior, below the lip. Decoration may be painted, with thick vertical lines on the body (figs. 35; 61.1), finger-impressed in double rows or in a herringbone pattern on or below the rim (fig. 61.2, 5), which is very common in the latest phase, or wavy incisions below the rim (fig. 61.1, 6; for technique and decoration of these "coil-made" forms, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 161–62). The one complete example (fig. 61.1) has four handles arranged in opposing pairs; it is ca. 1.10 m. high. A very similar type is known from Byzantine deposits at Jerash (Fisher and McCown 1931: 33–34); at Nebo (Saller 1941: 20) the evidence indicates its use from ca. the 6th to 8th centuries A.D. At Capernaum the type appears in Stratum III.

Figure 61.2 and 5 are from Stratum I; figure 61.2 has a Late Roman dated parallel at Capernaum (Loffreda et al. 1970: 98); at Dhiban (Tushingham 1972: 140) it is regarded as Late Byzantine and at Khirbet Mefjer as Abbasid (Baramki 1944: 74).

The "hole-mouth" jar (fig. 61.6) from Stratum IV has been dated to Late Roman and Byzantine times (e.g., at Capernaum, *Cafarnao* II: 54), and parallels at Khirbet Kerak and Pella are dated to the Early Arab period (Delougaz and Haines 1960: 37; McNicoll et al. 1982: 149).

LIGHT WARE (KHIRBET MEFJER) VESSELS
(Figures 62.1–47; 63–69)

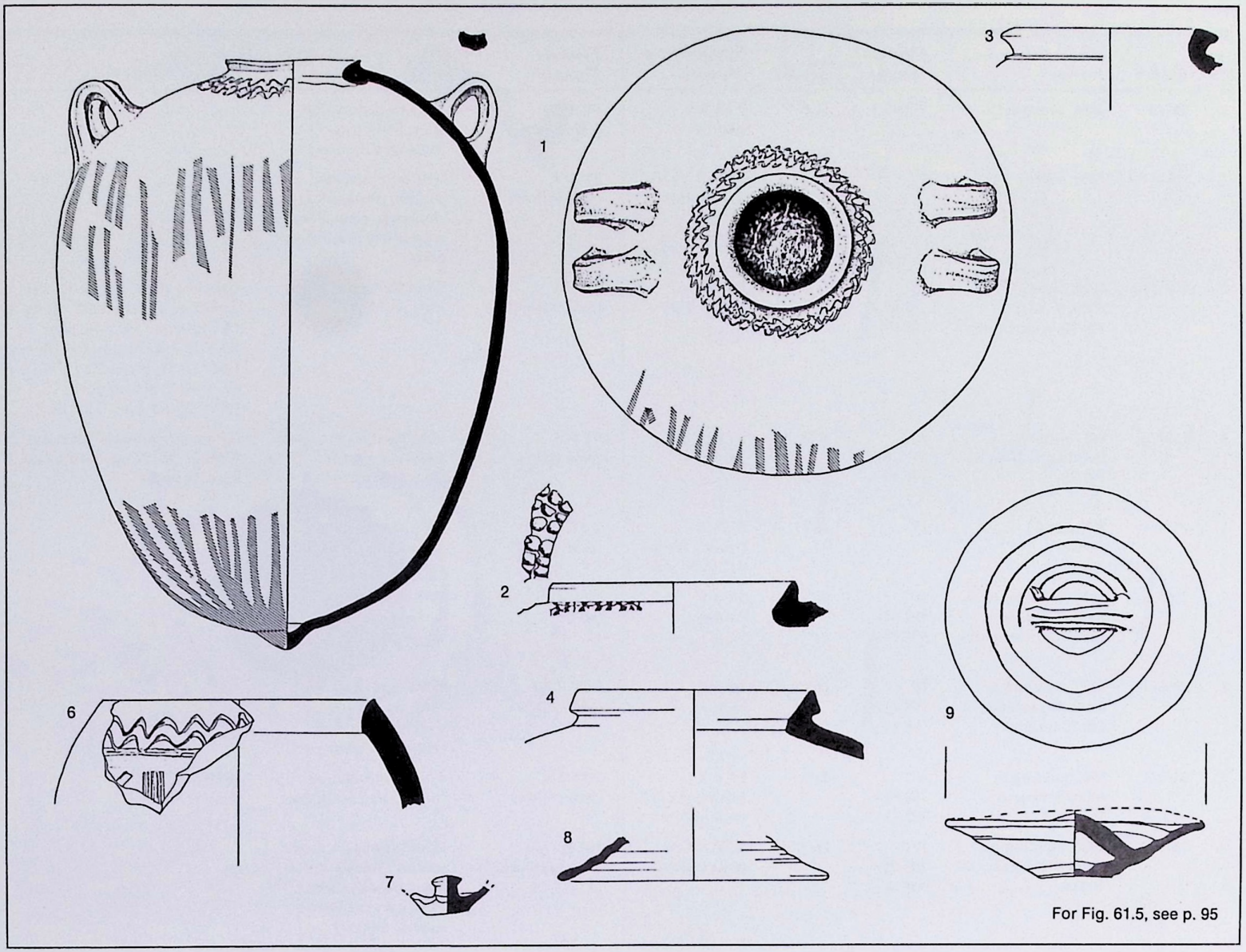
This group, also denoted "Mefjer Ware," encompasses decorative types, mainly bowls and jugs or juglets. The ware

[*text continues on p. 102*]

Figure 61. Pithoi

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.[a]	2319	1058, building A, room 4, sunk in floor at 197.78	*III*, 197.67–198.62	C/5	5YR 5/2 (reddish gray); 10YR 8/2 (white); paint: 10R 6/3 (pale red); 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	Zigzag incised decoration below rim; lines of red painted design on body; porous surface	Fisher and McCown 1931: 33–34, fig. 5; Schneider 1950: 18–20, fig. 1: A, plate 144: 1–4; Aharoni 1962: 4, fig. 4: 2
2.	1174/4	704, cobble floor at 200.43	*I*, 200.20–200.39	Area C	2.5Y 4/0 (dark gray)	10YR 4/1 (dark gray)	Thick walls; white and black grits; double row of impressed finger decoration below rim	Baramki 1944: 67, 74, fig. 4: 26, Ware 8; Tushingham 1972: 140, fig. 6: 23
3.	2071/7	1030, building A, room 5 (pit)	III, 197.75–197.94	C/5	5Y 4/1 (dark gray)	5Y 4/1 (dark gray)	Coarse ware; very large white grits	
4.	520/3	101, courtyard 1	IV	C/5–6	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	10YR 7/4 (very pale brown)	Hard fired ware; sharp breaks; large white grits	
5.	1581/1	824, building F, room 3, pavement at 196.90	*I*	D/4–5	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5YR 4/1 (dark gray); core: 2.5YR 4/4 (reddish brown)	Large white grits; herringbone impressed decoration	
6.	1936/1	910, building C, room 1	IV	C/7	10YR 8/2 (white)	10YR 8/2 (white); core: 2.5Y 6/0 (gray)	Soft ware; large black grits; porous surface; horizontal and vertical incised lines	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 37, plate 38: 12 = plate 58:8; *Cafarnao* II: 54, fig. 13: 1, Tipo D 1 = foto 11: 1, 8; McNicoll et al. 1982: 149, plate 148: 1; Corbo et al. 1970: 93–94, 98, fig. 5: 1, Type 1 = fig. 10:7
Lids								
7.	1825/2	884, building A, room 2, floor at 198.01	IV, *III*, 197.95–198.01	D/5	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Coarse, thick ware; large white and black grits	Kelso and Baramki 1955: 37, 39, plate 31: X 35, Type 46
8.	2061/1	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	IV, *III*, 197.88–198.05	C/5–6	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); core: 5YR 5/1 (gray)	Porous surface; fairly large white and black grits; wide set, shallow ribbing	
9.	2340/10	1058, building A, room 4	III	C/5	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5YR 6/6 (light red)	Porous surface; many tiny black grits; found in large pithos (no. 1)	

[a]See also fig. 35.



For Fig. 61.5, see p. 95

Figure 62. Light Ware ("Khirbet Mefjer" Ware)

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
1.	505/8	102a, courtyard 2	Unstr.	C/6–7	2.5Y 8/0 (white)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Smooth surface; soft ware; black grits; medium thickness	
2.	2323/15	1085, street 2	IV	D/10	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Soft ware, smooth surface; tiny black grits; thin ware; close, evenly set shallow ribbing on body	
3.	2061/10	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	*III*, 197.88–198.05	C/5–6	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Thin walls; tiny black grits	*Cafarnao* II: 63, fig. 15: 11–13, Tipo E 3; Tzaferis 1983: 34, fig. 8: 12; Fitzgerald 1931: 36, plate XXX: 2, 6; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 37–38, plates 39: 11, 41: 7, 43: 1, 58: 2; Meyers et al. 1976: 232–33, plate 7.22: 28
4.	1837/7	895, north of building C, floor at 197.76	*III*, 197.78–197.79	B/7	5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Hard fired ware; smooth surface; medium thickness; tiny black grits	For oval decoration: Baramki 1944: 71–72, 74, fig. 14: 2, plate 20: 1, Ware 20
5.	1854/1	896, street 1 (south)	IV	E/7	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3, 8/4 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Soft ware; smooth surface; tiny black grits; medium thickness	
6.	2103/6	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78, around pithos	*III*, 197.67–198.02	C/5–6	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Soft ware; smooth surface; thin ware; tiny white grits	
7.	2088/4	1020, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60 (north)	*IV*, 198.27–198.44	D/6	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	White and black grits; medium thickness; widely set, shallow ribbing on body	
8.	1588/1	830, building A, room 3, floor at 197.74	*III*, 197.62–197.73	E/5	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Thin, soft ware; soft surface; tiny black grits	See No. 3
9.	2039/3	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.31–198.62	D–E/6	2.5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	10YR 7/4 (very pale brown)	White and black grits; medium thickness; soft ware; smooth surface; closely set shallow ribbing on body	

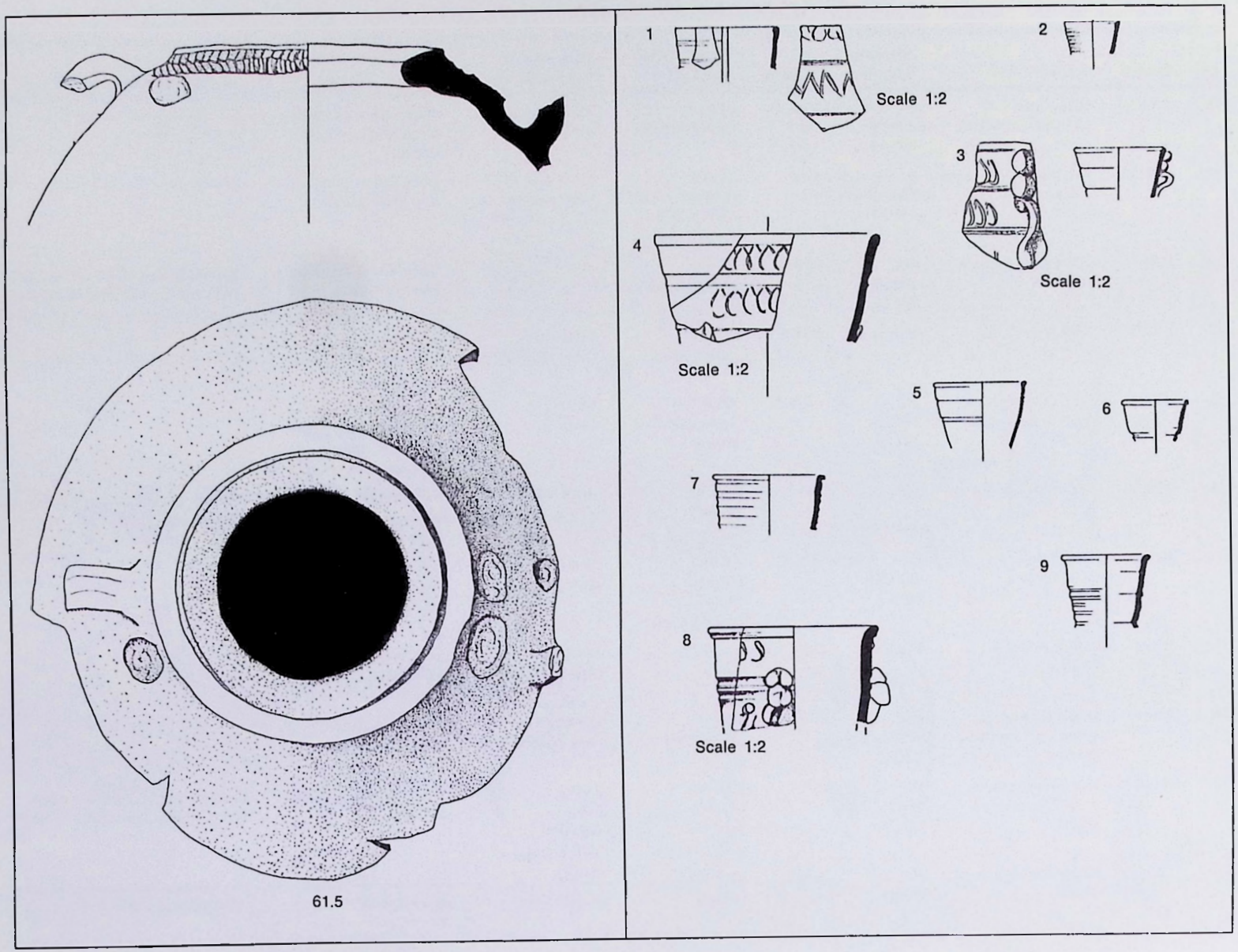

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Figure 62, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
10.	2128/19	1038, street 4, pavement at 197.75	IV, *III*, 197.63–197.79	E–F/7	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Thin, soft ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	
11.	1599/21	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 196.67–196.91	C/4	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3, 8/4 (pale yellow)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Hard fired, thin ware; tiny black grits	
12.[a]	1183	712, stone pavement at 201.30	*III*, 200.90–201.00	Area C	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)		Very thin, delicate ware; tiny black grits	Baramki 1944: 71–72, 74, fig. 14:2 (for shape), plate 20:2, Ware 20
13.	2147/7	1033, street 2, fill	Unstr.	D/8–9	5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	5Y 6/2 (light olive gray)	Soft, thin ware; tiny black and white grits; smooth surface	
14.	1807/4	887, building A, room 5, floor at 197.80	*III*, 197.55–197.76	C–D/6	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Soft, thin ware; tiny black and white grits; evenly set ribbing on neck; smooth surface	
15.	1858/10	898, courtyard 1	III	C/7	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Soft, thin ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 38, plates 39:12, 58: 1
16.	2034/2	1019, north of building A	*I*, 197.03–197.25	C/5–6	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 7/3 (pale yellow)	Soft ware, medium thickness; smooth surface; tiny black grits	
17.	1904/4	913, building A, room 1	Unstr.	D/6	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Thin ware; medium white grits; tiny black grits	
18.	2089/14	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.31–198.62	D–E/6	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Tiny black grits; medium thickness	
19.[b]	1798/3	882, building A, room 7, floor at 197.80	III, 197.55–197.78	D/4	2.5Y 8/2 (white); 2.5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/2 (white); 2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Thin ware; indentation on body	For indentation: Delougaz and Haines 1960: plate 39: 11 (=58:2)
20.	1196/10	728, plastered floor at 201.88	*IV*, 201.60	Area C	5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Soft ware; black grits; smooth surface	For handle: Delougaz and Haines 1960: plate 39: 10

Figure 62, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
10.	2128/19	1038, street 4, pavement at 197.75	IV, *III*, 197.63–197.79	E–F/7	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Thin, soft ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	
11.	1599/21	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 196.67–196.91	C/4	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3, 8/4 (pale yellow)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Hard fired, thin ware; tiny black grits	
12.[a]	1183	712, stone pavement at 201.30	*III*, 200.90–201.00	Area C	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)		Very thin, delicate ware; tiny black grits	Baramki 1944: 71–72, 74, fig. 14:2 (for shape), plate 20:2, Ware 20
13.	2147/7	1033, street 2, fill	Unstr.	D/8–9	5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	5Y 6/2 (light olive gray)	Soft, thin ware; tiny black and white grits; smooth surface	
14.	1807/4	887, building A, room 5, floor at 197.80	*III*, 197.55–197.76	C–D/6	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	Soft, thin ware; tiny black and white grits; evenly set ribbing on neck; smooth surface	
15.	1858/10	898, courtyard 1	III	C/7	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Soft, thin ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 38, plates 39:12, 58: 1
16.	2034/2	1019, north of building A	*I*, 197.03–197.25	C/5–6	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 7/3 (pale yellow)	Soft ware, medium thickness; smooth surface; tiny black grits	
17.	1904/4	913, building A, room 1	Unstr.	D/6	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Thin ware; medium white grits; tiny black grits	
18.	2039/14	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.31–198.62	D–E/6	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	Tiny black grits; medium thickness	
19.[b]	1798/3	882, building A, room 7, floor at 197.80	III, 197.55–197.73	D/4	2.5Y 8/2 (white); 2.5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/2 (white); 2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Thin ware; indentation on body	For indentation: Delougaz and Haines 1960: plate 39: 11 (=58:2)
20.	1196/10	723, plastered floor at 201.88	*IV*, 201.60	Area C	5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Soft ware; black grits; smooth surface	For handle: Delougaz and Haines 1960: plate 39: 10

Figure 62, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
21.	1854/6	896, street 1 (south), fill	IV	E/7	7.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	Smooth surface; soft, thin ware; tiny black grits	
22.	1642/21	844, building I.	III	B–C/7	10R 8/3 (very pale brown); 10R 8/4 (very pale brown)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Tiny black grits; soft ware; smooth surface	

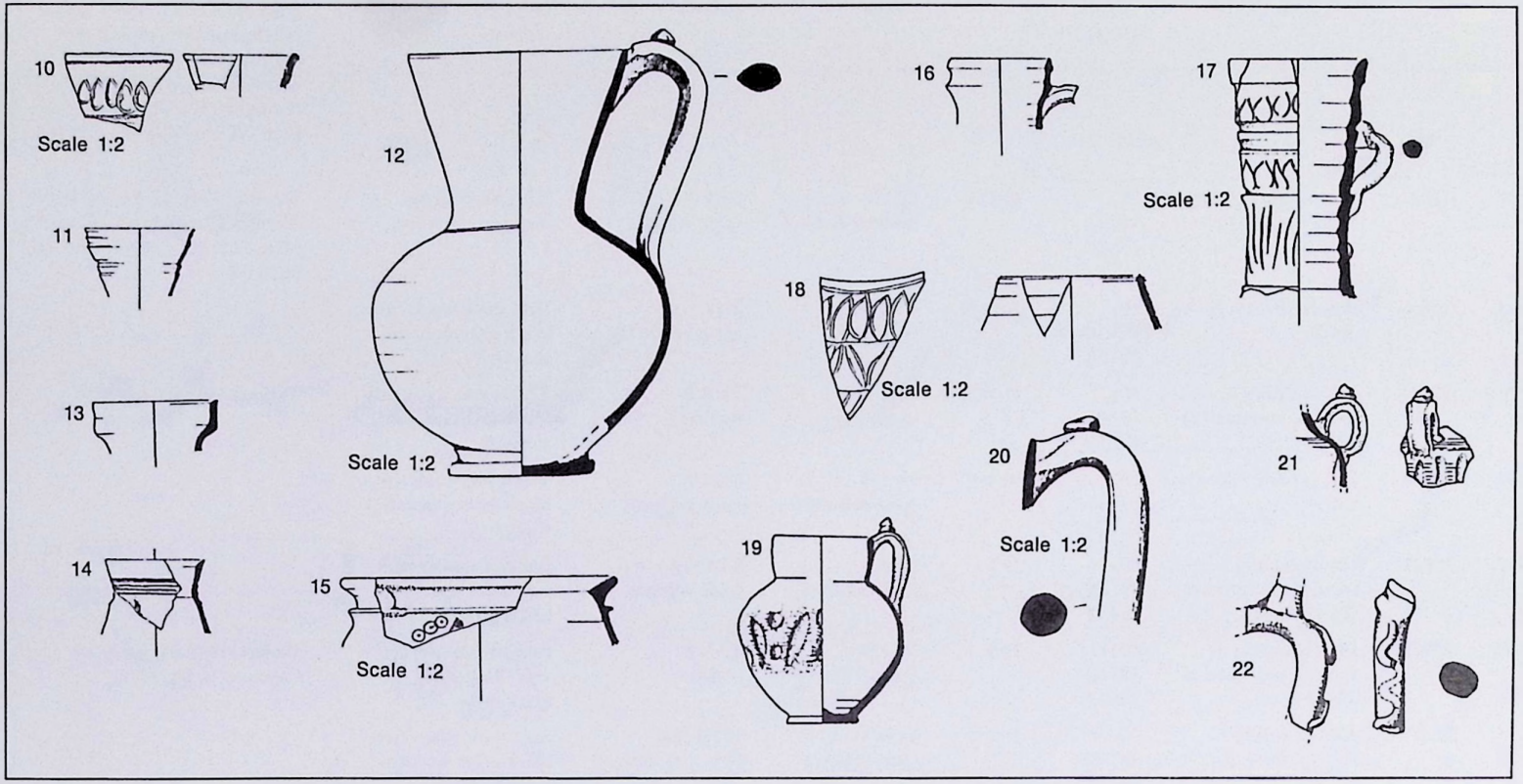


Figure 62, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
23.	2361/1	Wall 230	Unstr.	E/7	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Tiny black grits; soft ware; smooth surface	
24.	2392/10	1092	I, 196.80–196.87	F/3	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Tiny black grits; soft ware; smooth surface	
25.[c]	1827/3	891, building A, room 5, pavement at 197.89	*IV*, 197.85–197.89	C–D/4–5	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	Thick, hard fired ware	
26.[d]	1772/2	875, building F, room 2, floor at 197.39	*II*, 197.41–197.47	C–D/4	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thick, soft ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 38, plate 43: 3, 4, 8 ("bands with a notched plastic ridge in the middle, some with pellets at bottom and top of handles"); Baramki 1944: 66, 74, fig. 5: 15, plate XIX: 3, Ware 2
Bases								
27.	1779/3	871, building F, room 3, floor at 197.40	*II*, 197.33–197.67	C–D/5	2.5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Tiny black grits; medium thickness	Baramki 1944: 72, 74, fig. 15: 19, Ware 21; Meyers et al. 1976a: 233, plate 7.22: 52; Tzaferis 1983: 34, fig. 8: 19
28.	1193/3	722, earth floor at 201.76	*IV*, 201.70–201.79	Area C	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	Soft, thick ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	
29.	1827/2	891, building A, room 5, pavement at 197.89	*IV*, 197.85–197.89	C–D/4–5	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Thick, soft ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	Tzaferis 1983: 34, fig. 8: 16
30.	1171/6	717, plastered floor at 201.76	*IV*, 201.56–201.78	Area C	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	Thin, soft ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	
31.	2036/1	1016, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.19 (east)	*IV*, 197.92–198.13	D/5	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Smooth surface; soft, very thick ware; tiny black grits	
32.	2036/2	1016, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.19 (east)	*IV*, I, 197.92–198.13	D/5	5Y 7/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Smooth surface, soft, very thick ware; tiny black grits	Tzaferis 1983: 34, fig. 8: 18; *Cafarnao* II: fig. 15: 21
33.	2012/3	1004, building A, room 2, floor at 197.80	*III*, 197.82–197.83	D/5	5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	10YR 7/4 (very pale brown)	Soft, thick ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	

Figure 62, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Bowls								
34.	1847/8	897, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.30	III, *IV*, 198.03–198.21	D–E/5–6	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow); 5Y 6/6 (olive yellow)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Hard fired, thick ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	For decoration: Delougaz and Haines 1960: 38, plate 41: 12; Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978: 70, fig. 7: 6
35.	1873/2	896, street 1 (south)	IV	E/7	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Smooth surface; soft, thick ware; tiny black grits	
36.	1937/3	896, street 1 (south)	IV	E/7	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	Thick, hard fired ware	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 38, plate 40: 1–3; Baramki 1944: 70, 74, fig. 10: 11, Ware 15

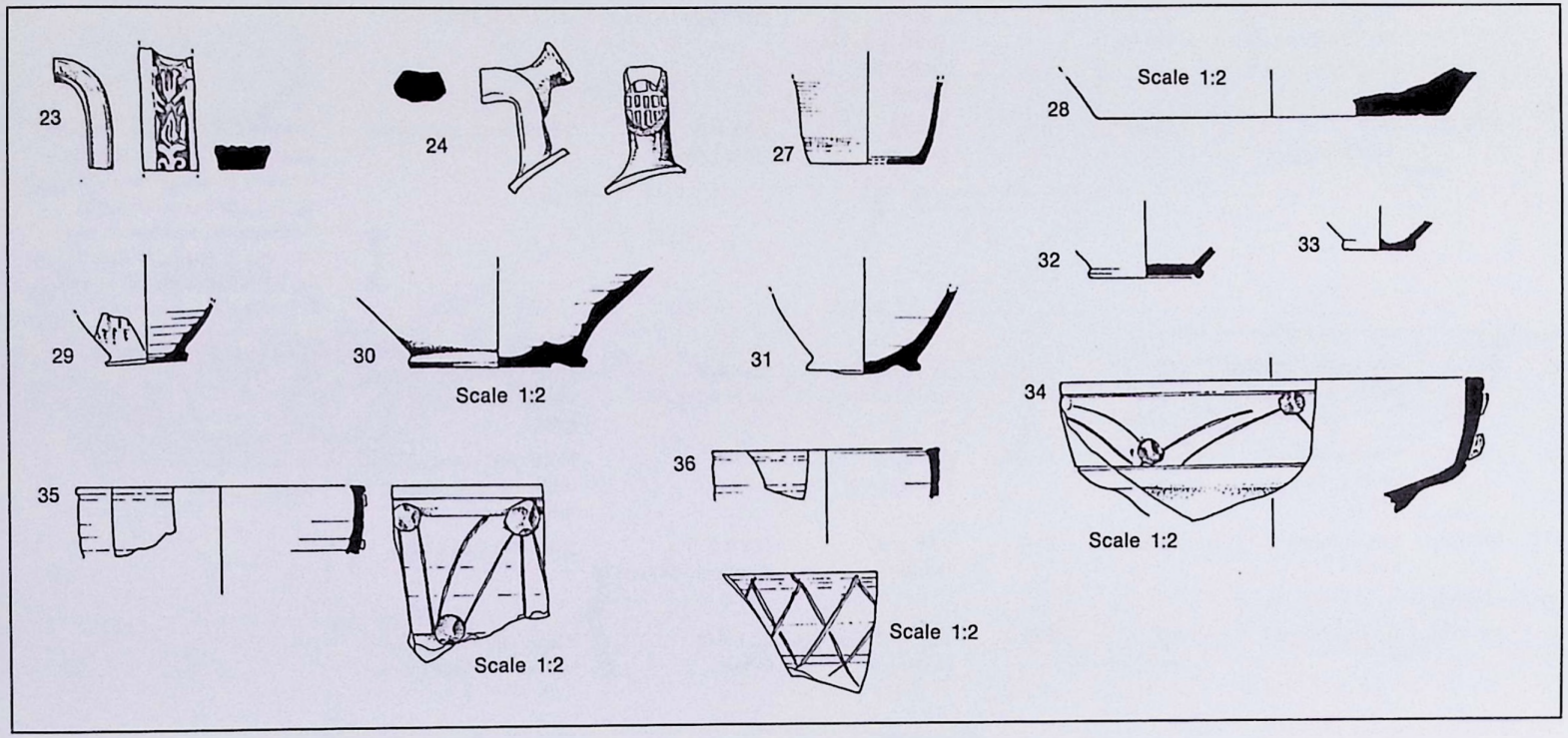


Figure 62, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
37.[c]	1872/6	900, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.19 (east)	*IV*, 198.19–198.23	D/5–6	5Y 7/6 (yellow)	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Thick, hard fired ware; smooth surface	*Cafarnao* II: 63, fig. 15: 15 (similar concept)
38.	2039/17	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.31–198.62	D–E/6	10YR 8/1, 8/2 (white); 10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	10YR 7/4 (very pale brown)	Soft, thin ware; tiny black grits; smooth surface	See No. 34; McNicoll et al. 1982: 148, plate 147: 45
39.	526/4, 9	102a, courtyard 2, floor at 197.39	IV, III, *II*, 197.40–197.59	C/6–7	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Hard fired, thick ware; tiny black grits; very deep incisions	See No. 38
40.	2061/6	1014, building A, room 4, floor at 197.78 around pithos	*III*, 197.88–198.05	C/5–6	10YR 8/2 (white); 10YR 8/3, 8/4 (very pale brown)	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	Soft, thick ware; tiny white and black grits	
41.	2087/1	1017 (baulk)	Unstr.	E/7	5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Thick ware; black grits	Delougaz and Haines 1960: 38, plates 40: 12, 13, 16 (wavy lines between horizontal incised lines), 42: 5–7 (circles arranged in "clusters to form flower-like patterns"); Baramki 1944: 66, 74, fig. 5: 16 (rosettes), plate XIX, 2, 3, 4, Ware 2
Strainers								
42.	1808/8	885, street 1, floor at 197.66 (north)	III, 197.31–197.63	C/6–7	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	Hard fired ware; medium thickness; tiny black grits	
43.	1925/5	904, building A, room 1, floor at 198.42	*IV*, 198.36	E/6–7	5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/2 (white)	Hard fired ware; medium thickness; tiny black grits	
44.	1904/16	913, building A, room 1	Unstr.	D/6	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	10YR 7/3 (very pale brown)	Soft ware; black grits	
Miscellaneous								
45.	502/10	101, courtyard 1	III	C/6–7	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	Thin, soft ware; smooth surface; tiny black grits	

Figure 62, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
46.	2084/10	1020, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60 (south)	*IV*, 198.39–198.52	D/6	10YR 8/4 (very pale brown)	10YR 8/4 (very pale brown)	Thin, soft ware; tiny black grits; pockmarks on surface	
47.[f]	2032	1000, building A, room 1, pavement at 198.60	*IV*, 198.30–198.53	D–E/6	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)		Soft ware; large white grits; pockmarks on surface	

[a] See also fig. 63. [b] See also fig. 64. [c] Not illustrated by a drawing, see fig. 67.4. [d] Not illustrated by a drawing, see fig. 65.1.
[e] See also fig. 68. [f] See also fig. 69.

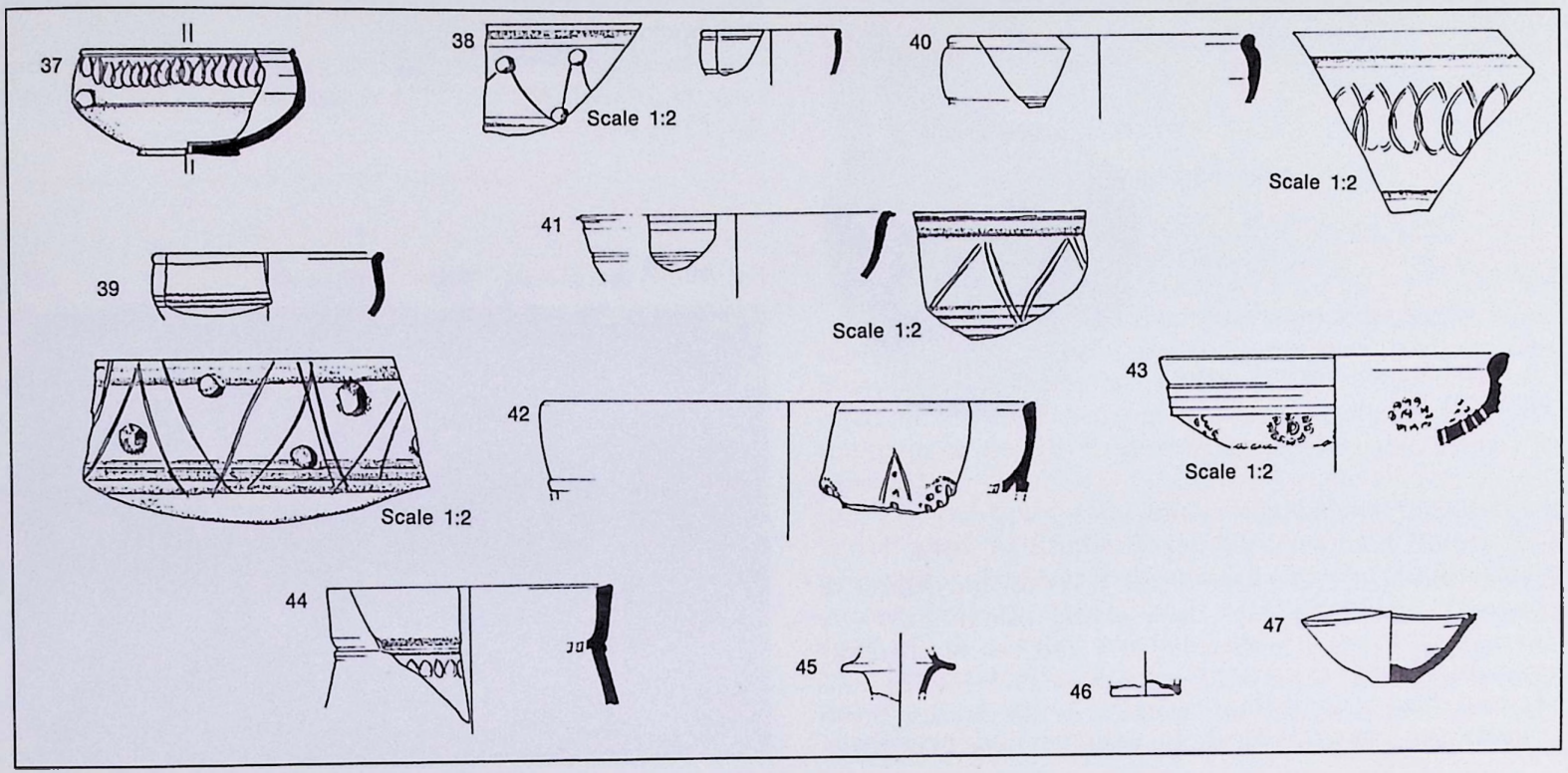


Fig. 63. Light ware "Mefjer" juglet (fig. 62.12).

Fig. 64. Light ware "Mefjer" juglet (fig. 62.19).

is light, low fired, and relatively soft. It is thin and delicate or thick and coarse. The clay is very plastic, containing a very fine temper. "It is a high grade clay and can be therefore thrown very thin" (Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 69–77). This clay has been described as "pinkish in the breaks, burns greenish white or pale buff on the surface" (Lane 1937: 38).

The jugs display a variety of shapes. Most examples have a funnel-like neck with a simple rim, rounded or everted (figs. 62.1–12, 16; 63). Other jugs have a collared mouth and everted rim (fig. 62.14), or an elongated neck (fig. 62.17). Also attested are a neckless jug with everted rim profile (fig. 62.15) and a globular jug with short neck, swelling slightly, and a simple rim (figs. 62.19; 64). The bases are usually flat, with or without grooves of differing depth, or with an offset.

The bowls display less variety in shapes and include examples with almost straight walls and thickened flat rims (fig. 62.34–36) and apparently some with a collared lower part, or bowls with rounded walls and a pronounced rounding of the body (fig. 62.37–41), often with a groove at mid-body.

The strainers included in this group of vessels are in the form of a bowl (fig. 62.42) or appear as filters in jug necks (fig. 62.43–44).

Fig. 65:1–9. Light ware "Mefjer" fragments.

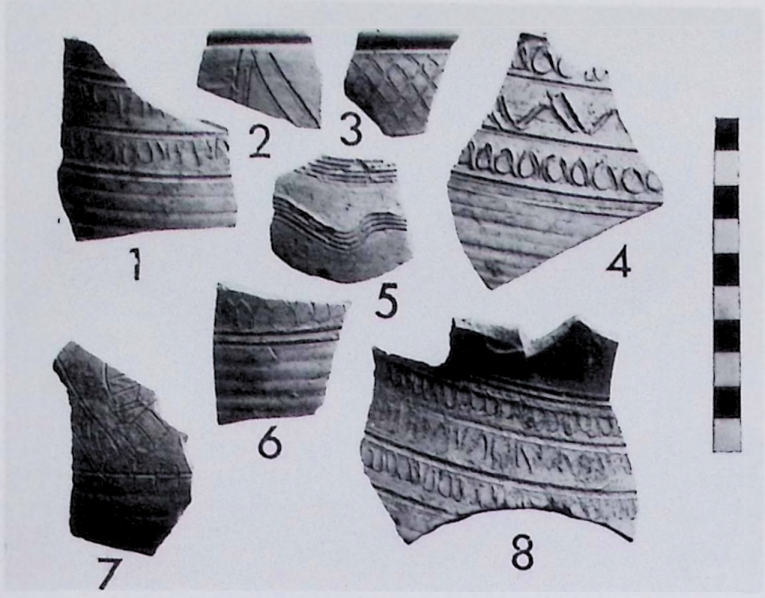


Fig. 66:1-8. Light ware "Mefjer" fragments.

Fig. 67:1-5. Light ware "Mefjer" fragments.

The vessels bear a wide range of incised or applied (so-called "barbotine") decoration. The jugs are adorned with various incised patterns: crisscrosses, ovals, rhomboids, triangles, circles, flowers, or a combination of several of the above. The decoration is arranged in horizontal bands, defined by shallow grooves (figs. 65-67). An additional design is an indentation on the body or neck of the jug (figs. 62.19, 21, 29; 64). The handles often bear "barbotine" decoration in the form of clay disk-like pellets and "bands of notched plastic ridges in the middle" (figs. 65, 67). Pellets on the handles are of mushroom-like form (fig. 67.4) or the handles themselves may be decorated with stamped patterns (fig. 62.23-24). Rings are frequently attached to the bottom of the handles (no rings have been found still attached to the jugs, however).

The bowls display a somewhat similar decorative repertoire: incised ovals and crisscrosses, but there is also a combination of incised lines with applied scattered pellets; and often the body is ribbed (figs. 62.34, 35, 38, 39; 68). Here, too, the patterns are set off between horizontal bands defined by grooves.

The published comparative material for this group is very limited. At Khirbet Kerak (Delougaz and Haines 1960: 37-39), it is abundant in unstratified contexts, but is included among the Early Arab pottery. At Khirbet Mefjer (Baramki 1944: 74), the parallel material is dated to the Abbasid period, but also to the 12th-13th centuries A.D. At Ramla, this ware appears in stratified contexts from the first period on the site—from the beginning of the 8th century A.D. (Rosen-

Fig. 68. Light ware "Mefjer" bowl (fig. 62.37).

Fig. 69. Light ware "Mefjer" lid (fig. 62.47).

Ayalon and Eitan 1969)—and at Ganei-Hammat it appears in 8th-9th century A.D. contexts (Oren 1971: 275-76). It is attested at Pella (McNicoll et al. 1982: 148) and at Kursi (Tzaferis 1983: 34) as mid-8th century A.D.. At Al-Mina, this ware is dated to the 9th-10th centuries A.D. (Lane 1937: 38).

This group also appears in other regions, mostly in the post-Umayyad period, such as in Iran (Wilkinson 1936), Iraq (Sarre 1925), and Egypt (Scanlon 1968).

Light Ware vessels appear at Capernaum in Strata IV to I. In Strata IV and III it appears in abundance, whereas it declines in quantity and repertoire of forms in the later periods. The commonly accepted dating for its first appearance is the 8th century A.D. At Capernaum, however, it appears already in Stratum IV, of the mid-7th to mid-8th centuries A.D. It is unfortunately impossible to determine clearly to which phase within this stratum the examples belong.

The few examples with stamped decoration appear only in Stratum I. There are, however, insufficient examples to prove that this stamped ware is later than the plain, undecorated pieces or those with incised designs.[5]

OIL LAMPS
(Figure 70.1-17)

Studies of post-Byzantine oil lamps are rare. Most types are noted by Rosenthal and Sivan (1978: 129-39). Typological studies differ in their approach to and definition of the various groups of oil lamps. Distinction between the groups has so far been made on the basis of shapes, handles, bases, forms of wick-hole, filling-hole and channel, ware, and decoration; and each study applies different criteria (e.g., Day 1942: 65-79; Baramki 1944: 73; Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 129-39).

[5] I wish to thank Ms. Miriam Avisar for drawing my attention to this possibility. Some pieces are still being analyzed in the laboratory.

Often these studies are little more than catalogues (e.g., *Samaria* III: 374–77, fig. 89).

Several variants can be distinguished among the oil lamps from Capernaum. Within each of the variants there are slight differences.

Variant A (fig. 70.1): round body; round bottom; knob handle; large filling-hole encircled by shallow groove; decoration in very low relief; light ware; moulded.

This form represents the earliest type of oil lamp at Capernaum, being found in Stratum V, the transitional phase.

Variant B (fig. 70.2): "triangular" decorative channel "tapering down toward the wick-hole"; herringbone pattern. Available diagnostic fragments are insufficient to enable reconstruction of complete shape.

Variant B was found in Stratum IV. Related to this form are examples dated to the 7th–8th centuries A.D. (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 137–38) and up to the 9th century A.D. (Kennedy 1963: 90–91).

Variant C (fig. 70.3–6): pointed ring base follows the contour of the lamp; round or pear-shaped body; conical handle; upper half of body containing a relief decoration of geometric patterns—semi-circles, circles, and rhomboids, often filled—and vegetal motifs; light thin ware—the so-called "Mefjer Ware"; moulded.

This form was found in Strata IV and III. Related types have been found at Ramla (Rosen-Ayalon and Eitan 1969), dated there to the 8th century A.D.

Variant D (fig. 70.7–13): ovoid or piriform body; high upper body half decorated with geometric designs: semi-circles, herringbones, and zigzags; conical handle; round ring base or often following the contour—bearing potter's mark or a 6/8-spoked wheel pattern; small filling-hole; channel of varying width containing plastic decoration; moulded.

Examples of this group were found mainly in Strata IV and III, but also in Strata II and I. This form has been found at Nazareth, dated to the 7th century A.D. (Bagatti 1969: 302, 308, 310), and at Khirbet Shema^{c} (Meyers et al. 1976:248), dated there to the 6th–7th centuries A.D. Related forms from Fustat are dated to the 9th–10th centuries A.D. (Kubiak 1970:3–6).

Variant E (fig. 70.14): flat base; elongated, narrow nozzle with pointed tip; small wick-hole; small filling-hole encircled by deep groove; decoration of semi-circles in low relief; moulded.

Examples of this group were found in Stratum III.

Variant F (fig. 70.15): round or oval body; round ring base with "workshop" mark; filling-hole encircled by deep groove; high relief decoration; moulded.

Examples were found in Stratum III.

Variant G (fig. 70.16): deep, bowl-shaped body; handle attached to lower body half and upper edge of filling-hole; thin delicate, hard-fired ware.

This form was found in Stratum III. A related form has been found at Antioch (Waagé 1941: 68) dating to the 9th–10th centuries A.D.(?).

Variant H (fig. 70.17): ovoid body; flat upper body half; conical handle; ovoid ring base, plain or with potter's mark; small filling-hole encircled by deep groove, extending to nozzle and forming channel (or "trough"); elon-

Figure 70. Oil Lamps

No.	Basket	Locus	Stratum/ Height	Square	Surface/Slip Munsell	Fracture Munsell	Ware	Related Forms
Variant A								
1.	2387/9	1064, street 2, floor at 198.67	*V*, 198.62–198.65	D/8	2.5Y 8/2 (white)	2.5Y 7/4 (pale yellow)	thick walls, tiny black and white grits	
Variant B								
2.	2018/6	1010, building C, room 2 (tabun)	*IV*, 198.18–198.48	C/7	5YR 4/1 (dark gray)	5YR 4/1 (dark dray)	thick, coarse ware	Kennedy 1963: 90–91, plate XXIX, no. 786, Type 24; Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 137–38, Group 3, no. 570
Variant C								
3.	1198	772, earth floor at 201.76	*IV*, 201.70–201.79	Area C	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/4 (pale yellow)	tiny black grits, thin walls, "Mefjer Ware"	Frierman 1975: 47–48, nos. 75–77; Rosen-Ayalon and Eitan 1969; Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 133–34, Group 1 (a), Variant B
4.	509/3	103, building A, room 5	IV, surface–196.30		5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	5Y 8/2 (white); 5Y 8/3 (pale yellow)	thin ware, two deep grooves in handle, "Mefjer Ware"	
5.	2149/7	1043, north of building C, floor at 197.68	*III*, 197.68–197.83	B/7	5YR 7/4 (pink)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	tiny white grits, "Mefjer Ware"	
6.	1938/8	892, street 1	IV, III, 197.86–198.27	D/6–7	5Y 8/2 (white)	5Y 8/3, 8/4 (pale yellow)	thin ware, blackened wick-hole, "Mefjer Ware"	

gated, narrow channel divided by ridge; small wick-hole; geometric decoration (herringbone and network).

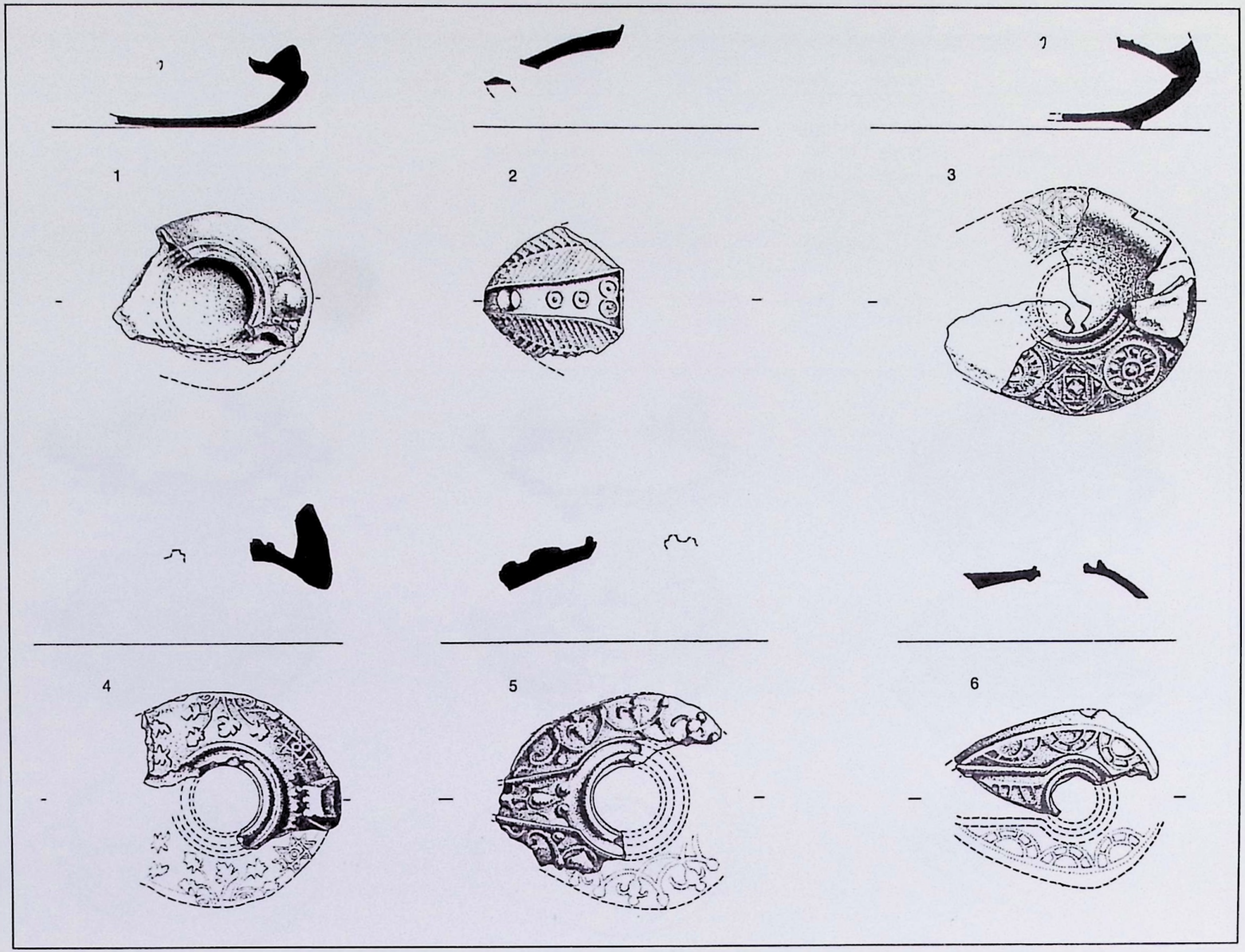
Examples of variant H were found in Stratum II and I.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the pottery analysis, there seems to have been, on the one hand, a continuation of forms throughout the periods but, on the other hand, frequent interruption of shapes by new types and by new characteristics. Most of the pottery discussed is of domestic nature and continued without any significant changes; some scholars, however, have attempted to utilize the individual aspects of the vessels as chronological criteria, distinguishing Late Byzantine, Pre-Umayyad, Umayyad, Abbasid, Early Fatimid (e.g., Sauer 1982: 329–35).

Occasionally, the uniformity in ware of a specific group of vessels may indicate its unique and homogeneous character, and may even point to a single source of clay and center

[*text continues on p. 111*]



Scale 1:2

Figure 70, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Variant D								
7.	1623	812, building H, room 2, floor at 197.41	*II*, 197.43	C/8	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)		Bagatti 1969: 302, 308, 310, fig. 236:8; *Cafarnao* II: 94, foto 27:1–3, Tipo L 9; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 39, plate 44:12 (=60:31); Day 1942: 65–71, Type A; Kubiak 1970: 3–6, plate 1:1, Type A, Variant 1; Meyers et al. 1976: 248, plate 8.10:1
8.	1869	900, building A, room 2, pavement at 198.19	*IV*, III 198.17	D/5–6	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)		

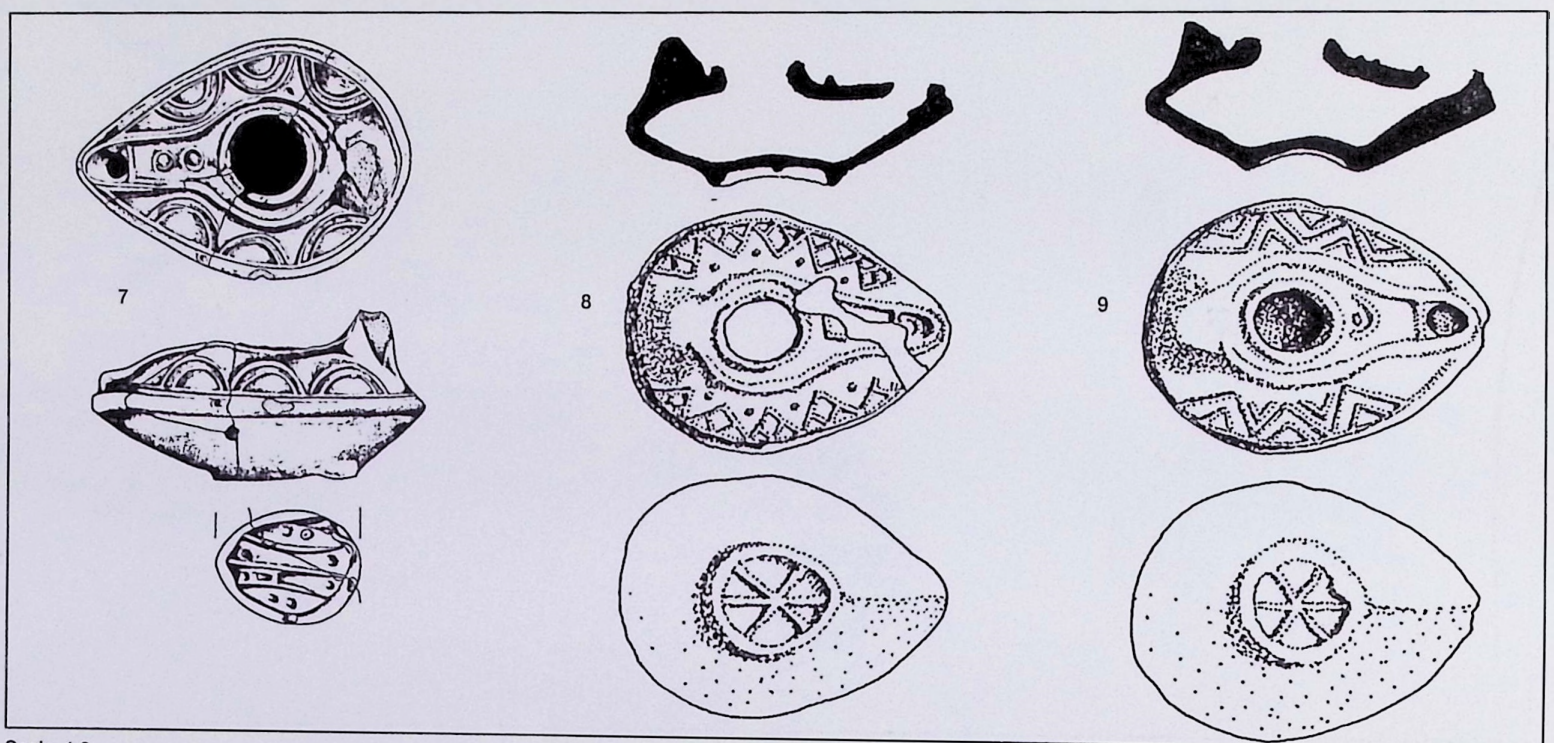


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Figure 70, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
9.	2179	1036, street 1, floor at 198.30 (north)	*IV*, 198.30	C–D/6–7	7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	10YR 7/2 (light gray)	blackened filling-hole and body	
10.	1850	896, street 1, floor at 197.69	*III*, 197.55–197.69	E/7	2.5YR 6/8 (light red)		blackened filling and wick-hole	
11.	1801/1	Wall 133, building I	II, 197.49–197.81	D/9	10R 6/8 (light red)	2.5YR 6.6 (light red)	black grits	
12.	2093	1015, building A, room 5, floor at 197.88	*III*, 197.88	C/5	5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)		white grits, blackened nozzle	

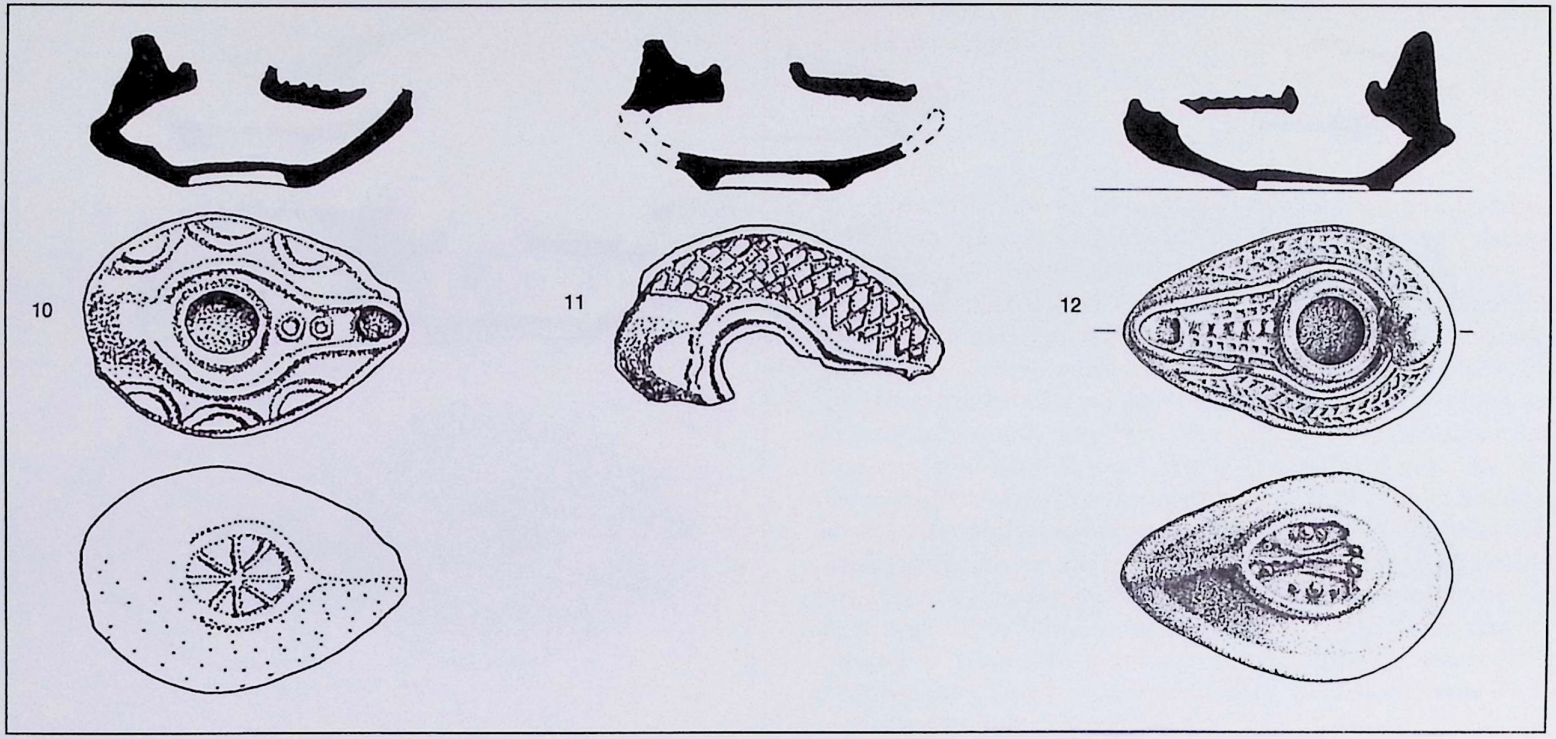

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Figure 70, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
13.	1603/6	834, building F, room 2, floor at 196.93	*I*, 197.01	C/4	10YR 7/4 (very pale brown)	7.5YR 4/0 (dark gray)	coarse ware, black grits, blackened nozzle	
Variant E								
14.	1893/2	882, building A, room 7, floor at 197.80	*III*, 197.70	D/4–5	10YR 5/2 (grayish brown)	10YR 5/2 (grayish brown)	coarse ware, blackened	
Variant F								
15.	2274/1	1071, street 3	III, 197.57–198.23	C/6–7	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown) 7.5YR 7/4 (pink)	7.5YR 6/4 (light brown)	tiny black grits	

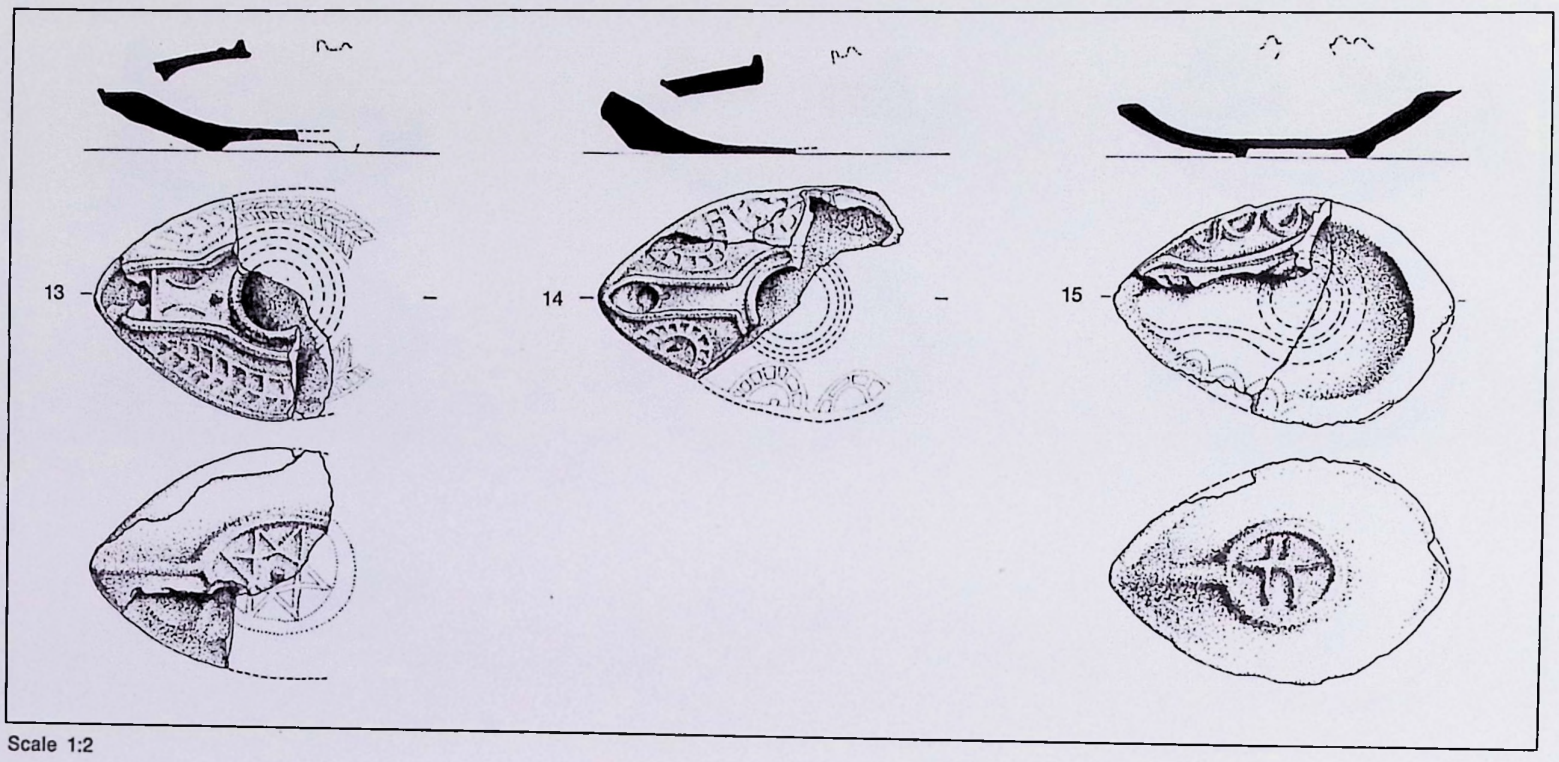

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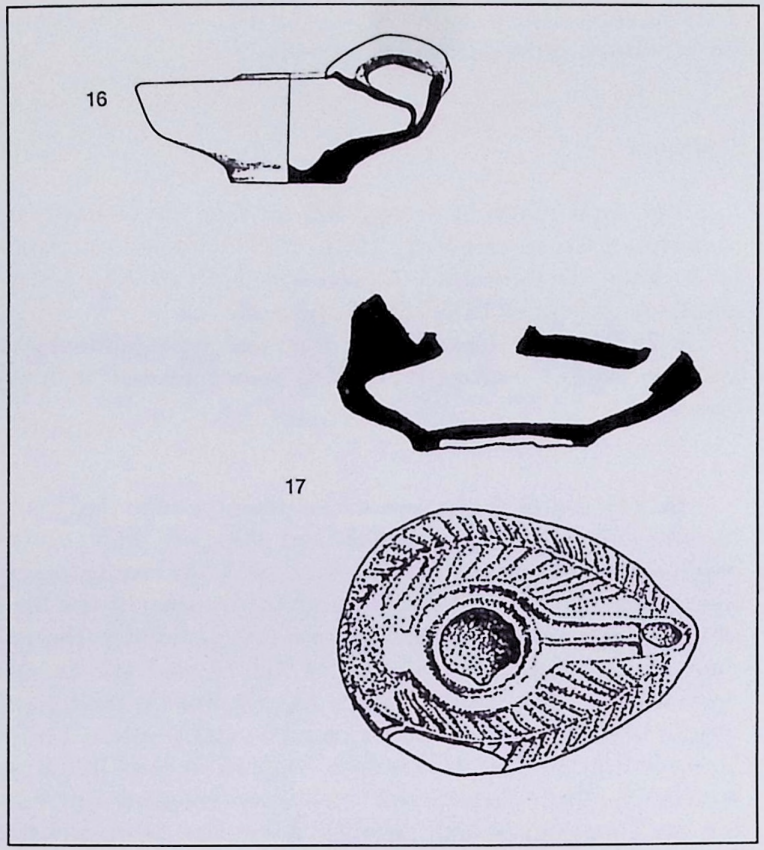
Figure 70, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum/ Height*	*Square*	*Surface/Slip Munsell*	*Fracture Munsell*	*Ware*	*Related Forms*
Variant G								
16.	1178/6	825, building F, room 1	III	D/4	10R 5/6 (red)	10R 5/6 (red)	blackened wick-hole and body	Waagé 1941: 68, fig. 81: 58a. 180.
Variant H								
17.	1769	Wall 117, building G, room 4	II, I, 197.27	D-7/8	10YR 8/3 (very pale brown)	7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow)	black grits	



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of manufacture. The domestic, locally manufactured pottery at Capernaum seems to indicate a close relationship in its technical aspects to the contemporaneous material at other sites in the region.

Stratum V

This initial phase of occupation, comprising only a thin layer of occupation, displays several distinctive pottery shapes, a few of which are not attested in later times.

The imported Red Fine Ware is abundantly attested in this stratum and may reflect commercial contacts with nearby regions, as well as more distant parts, at this time. Side-by-side with the Fine Ware are local Galilean bowls, which are also abundant and may even represent the North Palestinian competitor to Late Roman Ware. The painted cups and the few examples of jars of the same group were now in fashion, as were the light painted jars, found only in fragments at Capernaum. Some shapes (such as the kraters and certain bowl forms, cooking-pots, jars) ceased to be manufactured or went out of fashion in later periods, or at least are not attested at Capernaum in later times. The red ware (both cooking-pots and jars) seems also to have been more common than in later periods.

Stratum IV

Significant differences in both manufacture and design are apparent in the pottery assemblages of this phase. Late Roman Ware is still common, as are Galilean bowls. Painted cups were also in fashion side-by-side with light painted jars. The domestic storage-jars and cooking-pots show continuity from the previous periods, as well as similarities in forms with material from nearby contemporaneous sites.

New shapes, decoration, and techniques were now introduced, in the Early Arab period, possibly reflecting a change in market orientation, a shift in population, or both.

The "chip-carved" bowls appear now at Capernaum for the first time, and seem to remain in vogue for a very short period, for they are absent in later phases, after the Umayyad period. Side-by-side with the "chip-carved" bowls we see, also for the first time, the "Mefjer" group of bowls and jars, made in a light, soft-firing ware apparently brought from special clay-beds; special workshops may have specialized in processing this white clay (Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 67). The technical innovations of these new groups is matched by a new approach to the decoration on the vessels, showing a wide variety of styles. At Capernaum the "Mefjer" technique continued in fashion long after the "chip-carved" family had disappeared from the pottery repertoire. Alongside the light-firing "Mefjer" family, light ware storage-jars now became very common, possibly indicating a preference for light-firing clays, new workshops, or new clay sources in the Capernaum region at this time. Among the domestic vessels are forms common at this phase but that are not attested in later periods.

Stratum III

In this stratum, the repertoire varies little from that of the previous phase. Painted cups, "Mefjer" ware, and light painted jars are all still in fashion. Other forms also continued without major changes. The light ware jars are now in abundance. Late Roman Ware and Galilean bowls are no longer attested. In general, this stratum shows a very standard pottery repertoire for the period.

Stratum II

The traditional, familiar pottery techniques continue as before. No major shifts in approach to decoration or in the development of new shapes is in evidence. The light ware is very common now, especially in bowls.

Stratum I

The final phase of occupation on this site contains no evidence of Crusader pottery (12th–13th centuries A.D.), such as at Afula (Dothan 1955: 23–24, figs. 5, 6) or Abu Ghosh (De Vaux and Steve 1950: 133–37, plate F).

In both Strata II and I, light ware jars, light painted jars, and the "Mefjer" ware were still in vogue, though in lesser quantities.

Decoration of the vessels varied from painted designs to incised, cut, applied, impressed, and stamped. The painted designs are attested already in Stratum V on painted cups, light painted jars, and pithoi, and continued till the final phase of occupation in the light painted jar family, though there is a concentration during Strata IV and III. Incised decoration is common on kraters, Late Roman Ware, basins, pithoi, bowls, and the "Mefjer" family, and is attested from Stratum V to Stratum II (too little material is available from Stratum I). The "chip-carved" technique is found only during the Umayyad period. Applied decoration is in evidence

on light ware bowls, "Mefjer" jars and bowls, and on pithoi; this technique is not attested in Stratum V. Impressed thumb decoration is attested only in Stratum I, applied only on light ware bowls and pithoi. Stamped decoration appears on handles of the "Mefjer" family in Stratum I.

Such standard forms as storage-jars, basins, and cooking-pots seem to have remained in use for centuries without any major changes. This would suggest that a strong local potting tradition existed at Capernaum, new inhabitants or cultures affecting it little. The white ware was an innovation that soon became popular, as did glazed vessels. In other groups, such as jugs, pithoi, and flasks, no standard shapes predominated and a variety of forms and shapes is in evidence.

3

glazed pottery

Elizabeth Kessin Berman

INTRODUCTION

The manufacture of glazed pottery vessels has been a part of ceramic production in the Near East for millennia. During the Egyptian, Assyrian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, for example, glazed artifacts appear as examples of technological curiosity and achievement, encouraging creative excellence and vigorous trade for centuries.[1] Nevertheless, in the Near East, it is with the advent of Muslim civilization that glazed pottery finally acquired a permanent position in the manufacture of both luxury and common objects.[2] The pottery of Capernaum is adequate testimony of this: in a small town in Galilee during medieval times, glazed vessels made up a sizable portion of the pottery repertoire.

The introduction of glazing techniques to the already well-developed tradition at Capernaum is evidence that pottery manufacture had reached a new plateau. New avenues of technological expertise and commercial competitiveness must have opened up in this region.[3] The glazed pottery deposits at Capernaum also adequately demonstrate that potters of this period were familiar with a broad spectrum of manufacturing techniques. As the pottery assemblage there shows, the potters were able to work with different firing conditions, and to choose among a variety of glaze techniques. Unfortunately, excavations at Capernaum have revealed only a small portion of the medieval town. As yet, no pottery kilns, pottery dumps, or pottery workshops from post-Byzantine times have been unearthed. Correspondingly, neutron activation analysis

[1] See, for example, the extensive study of glazing throughout the ancient world in Dayton 1978.

[2] See the introductory accounts of Sauvaget 1966, Lane 1947, and Hobson 1932; for more recent studies, see Grube 1976, Fehérvari 1973, and Philon 1980.

[3] It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the appearance of glazing during the early Islamic period, or the extent or lack of T'ang influence upon Islamic potters. A review of scholarly positions can be found in Frierman 1975: 11f.; and Philon 1980: 27ff.

on ceramic types, not only for Capernaum but also for Galilee and bordering regions, has yet to be carried out on a grand scale for this historical era.[4] Until such information is satisfactorily compiled, it is difficult to speak definitively of the nature of local and regional production.

In addition to the lack of scientific studies devoted to the ceramics of the early Islamic period, one must also recognize that there is a paucity of publications devoted to the typological development of pottery from the post-Byzantine period in Galilee and the surrounding regions. Although glazed wares have been found in several excavations, such as Meiron and Khirbet Shema[c],[5] these excavations do not present as complete a picture as one would like. Sites such as Khirbet Minyeh, founded in the early Islamic period, Ramla, Caesarea, and Tiberias, settled densely during that period, have offered rich pottery assemblages; but no extensive reports on that pottery have been published.[6] Material from excavations carried out early in this century is valuable evidence for the distribution of certain glazed wares, but the problem of typological development has yet to be satisfactorily addressed.[7] Important data does exist within the ceramic groups found in regions both to the east and to the west of Syria-Palestine.[8] Similar wares and similar glazing techniques can be found, for example, in the excavated mounds of Fustat in Egypt.[9] In regions to the east, comparable vessels can be found at many sites in Iran and Iraq, such as Samarra, Susa, Siraf, and Nishapur.[10] Despite the importance of this material for comparative purposes, one is led to question the accuracy of associations, based on both chronology and typology, among regions that are so greatly separated culturally, economically, and politically.

In searching for comparative materials, it is important to note that valuable evidence can be found among the many recent museum publications of exhibitions and collections of Islamic pottery.[11] These important publications present handsome vessels, many of them undoubtedly produced in the finest workshops of the Middle East. Yet one may ponder how reliable such vessels are for interpreting the chronology of the Capernaum material. The Capernaum vessels were hardly luxury ware and they bear only a modest resemblance to the magnificent pieces that grace museums and private collections throughout the world. Nevertheless, the study of the pottery from Capernaum, together with these finer objects (often of unknown provenance), can contribute to the understanding of the diversity and distribution of ceramic glazes in the medieval period.

[4] See the brief reports on the glazed pottery from Meiron, in Meyers et al. 1981: 139f.; Frierman 1975; 1969: 44–45. The work of Frierman and his colleagues appears to be among the few projects devoted to ceramics of this period. One eagerly awaits publication of the results of their studies. For an important approach to the interpretation of ceramic traditions of this era, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975.

[5] The admirable work of the excavation teams of the Meiron Excavation Project has contributed much to our knowledge of pottery manufacture in Greco-Roman and Byzantine times. Unfortunately, the post-Byzantine material is less well preserved and therefore less documented; see Meyers et al. 1976; 1981: 139f.; and 1978: 1–24.

[6] See Puttrich-Reignard 1939b: 9–29; and the brief ceramic reports in Grabar et al. 1960: 226–43. Excavation of the early Islamic settlement at Ganei-Ḥammath (Tiberias) yielded important evidence of a pottery workshop. The pottery recovered there has yet to be published extensively; see Oren 1971: 274–77. Excavations of major centers such as Tiberias, Ramla, and Caesarea have revealed important lots of glazed material, but unfortunately publication of this material has not been forthcoming; see Rosen-Ayalon and Eitan 1969 and Riley 1975: 25–63.

[7] See, for example, Fitzgerald 1931; de Vaux and Steve 1950; Baramki 1944: 65–103; Delougaz and Haines 1960; and Saller 1957.

[8] For sites in the Jordan Valley and in Transjordan proper, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975; Smith 1973: 236ff.; and Sauer 1973: 43. For sites in the northern Levant, see Lane 1937: 19–78.

[9] Scanlon 1965; 1966; 1967; and Bianquis et al. 1974: 163–74.

[10] See Sarre 1925; Wilkinson 1973; Rosen-Ayalon 1974; and the evidence of the recent excavations at Siraf, Whitehouse 1968: 1–22; 1979: 45–61.

[11] See Philon 1980; Grube 1976; Fehérvari 1973; Frierman 1975; and Atil 1973.

Even without the aid of scientific studies of clay bodies and glaze compositions in surrounding regions, and even without stratified pottery assemblages from relative sites, Capernaum's glazed ceramic repertoire adds significantly to our knowledge of ceramic technology and typology in the early Islamic period. Although the site was not a major urban center, it can serve as a key site for the construction of a ceramic sequence, for well-stratified lots of glazed wares have been unearthed there. These deposits aid in the understanding of the ceramic production of this era and area, and consequently the historical and economic implications associated with it.

In turning to the pottery, it is necessary to consider the glazed wares according to the following four categories: fabric, form, glaze, and firing. Beginning with the first category, fabric, we are able to distinguish three characteristic clay bodies. The first, and by far the most dominant, is a finely levigated clay relatively free of impurities and firing to a reddish-buff hue (Munsell 5YR 7/6–7/4).[12] For the most part, it is fired under stable conditions and to a medium hardness.[13] This type of fabric almost always receives a lead-based glaze; sometimes a thin layer of white engobe is applied to the surface, under the glaze coat. The second type of clay body is of a soft, sandy texture. It is a white firing clay and apparently originates in special clay beds.[14] When fired, the fabric appears as light buff or cream colored (Munsell 10YR 8/2–8/4). It is generally soft in texture and porous, and contains a large number of impurities. Defects in the firing process are frequently observed in sections, a result of incomplete levigation of the clay.

The red-buff fabrics are generally employed for bowl forms. The white or buff fabrics tend to be used not only for bowl forms, but also for other closed forms such as jugs, bottles, and lamps.

In addition to the two commonly-used fabrics, a third is also to be found in the repertoire. It is best described as "cooking pot" ware (figs. 71.1–9): it bears a reddish-brown color and is metallic in quality. The clay itself is treated with temper and is often coarse and friable. All of the "cooking vessels" are treated with a lead glaze of a brownish color. Munsell readings for these sherds average between 2.5YR and 5/8YR.[15]

In turning to the second category, form and forming techniques, we are limited because not even a single glazed vessel has been unearthed intact and complete. Nevertheless, the preserved forms do offer an adequate picture of the potting procedures and of the many different solutions employed to produce a variety of different shapes.

All of the glazed vessels found at Capernaum are wheel made. Bowls and wide bowls (platters) have evenly balanced walls and carefully finished rims and bases. The surface of the bowls is uniformly smoothed to receive an even coat of glaze. The evidence seems to suggest that a limited variety of rim forms was used during the period of occupation at Capernaum. Many bowl and platter forms exhibit a straight rim that extends directly from a flaring wall (fig. 71.10, 11, 13, 32), or a straight vertical wall (fig. 71.27, 28, 30, 31). Other bowl forms display a slightly everted rim protruding from a carinated wall (fig. 71.12, 14–20), or an inverted rim formed at a contrasting angle with the wall (fig. 71.21, 35, 36).

[*text continues on p. 122*]

[12] For a detailed description of red-buff firing clays, see Frierman 1975: 124. It is beyond our present scope to offer a technical analysis of the ceramic materials. For a detailed discussion, see Shepard 1971: 6–24, 147ff.; and Rye 1981.

[13] See Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 52; and Frierman 1975: 20–23.

[14] See Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 208 for problems of white firing clay. For a detailed discussion of firing conditions and behavior of glazes with different clay bodies, see also Meyers et al. 1978: 142–43; and Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 52–54.

[15] For this special type of glazed cooking pot, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 131; Frierman 1975: 49; and below, n 27.

Figure 71. Glazed Pottery

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum*	*Height*	*Area*	*Munsell Color*	*Ware and glaze*
1.[a]	1171/5	717	IV, floor	201.78	C	2.5YR 4/8	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior; thumb impressed ledge handle
2.	1006/2	604	I, cobble pavement	200.39	C	2.5YR 4/5	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior; thumb impressed ledge handles
3.	1010/2	606	II	200.79	C	2.5YR 5/6	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior; splashes on exterior
4.	1107/5	704	III, stone pavement	201.45	C	2.5YR 4/8	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior
5.	1120/2	707	III, stone pavement	201.32	C	2.5YR 5/8	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior
6.	1123/21	701	II, earth floor	200.98	C	2.5YR 4/8	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior; horizontal loop handles below rim
7.	1145/13	706	III, plaster floor	201.43	C	2.5YR 4/8	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior; horizontal loop handle below rim
8.	1159/2	709	III, stone pavement	201.64	C	2.5YR 4/8	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior
9.	1135/15	707	III, stone pavement	201.04	C	2.5YR 4/6	Red-brown with inclusions; brown glaze on interior; splashes on exterior
10.	1110/12	700	II, earth floor	201.20	C	5YR 7/4	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze on interior nd exterior
11.	1190/2	722	IV, earth floor	201.76	C	10YR 8/8	As fig. 71.10
12.	1135/22	707	III, stone pavement	201.30	C	5YR 8/8	Red-buff; brown glaze
13.[b]	1006/3	604	I, cobble pavement	200.39	C	2.5YR 5/8	Red-buff; yellow, light green and dark green glaze; incisions on interior; white slip on exterior
14.[c]	2326/7, 8	1081	I, fill (west 1081)	196.40–196.56	A	5YR 7/4	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze on interior and exterior
15.[d]	1139/1	706	III	201.38	C	5YR 7/6	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze on interior; white slip on exterior
16.	1130/6	701	II, earth floor	200.94	C	7.5YR 7/6	Red-buff; dark green glaze on interior; light green glaze on exterior
17.	1130/1	701	II	200.93	C	7.5YR 7/6	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze on interior; yellow, green and brown glaze on exterior
18.	2326/3	1081	I, fill	196.40–196.56	A	7.5YR 7/4	Red-buff; green mottled glaze

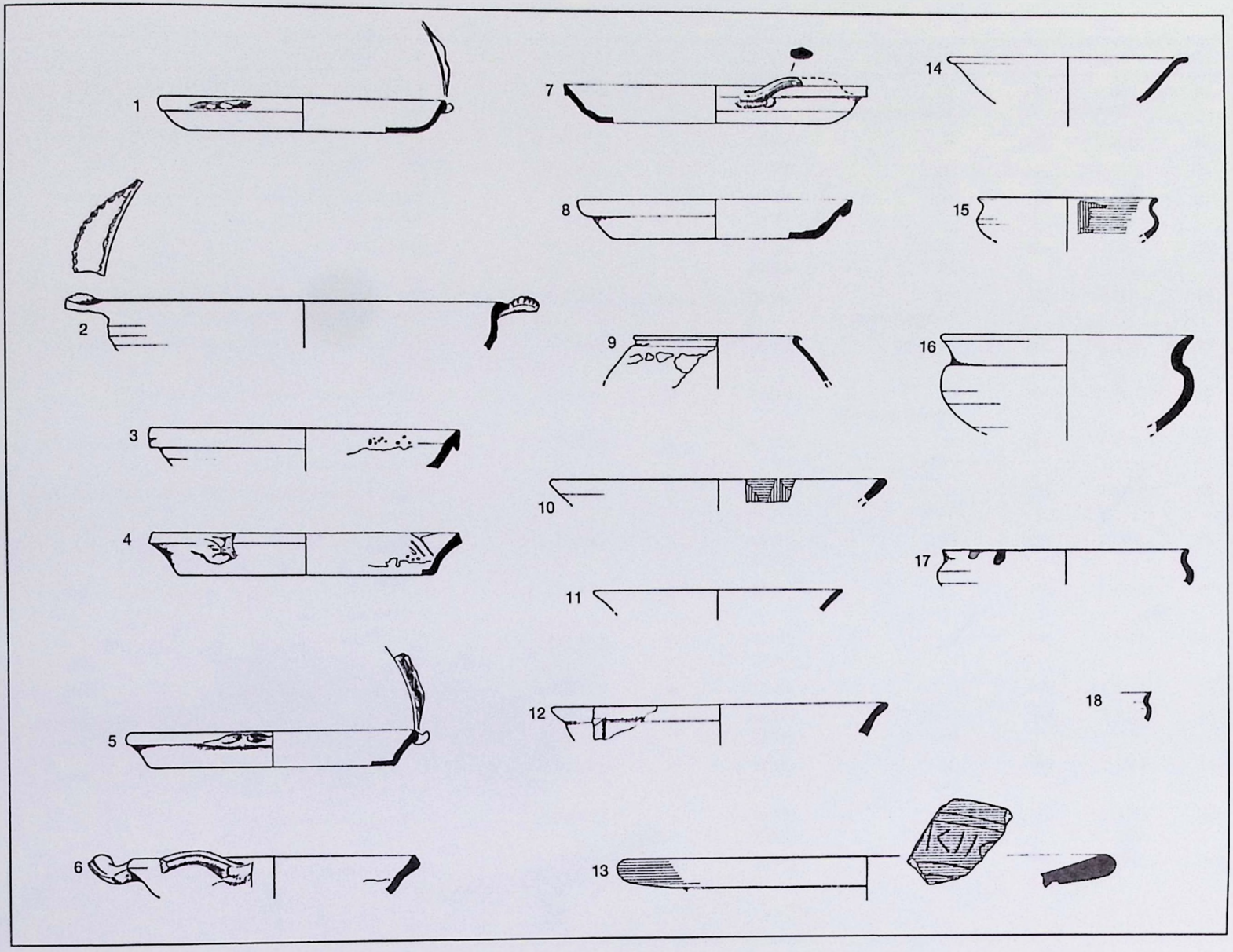
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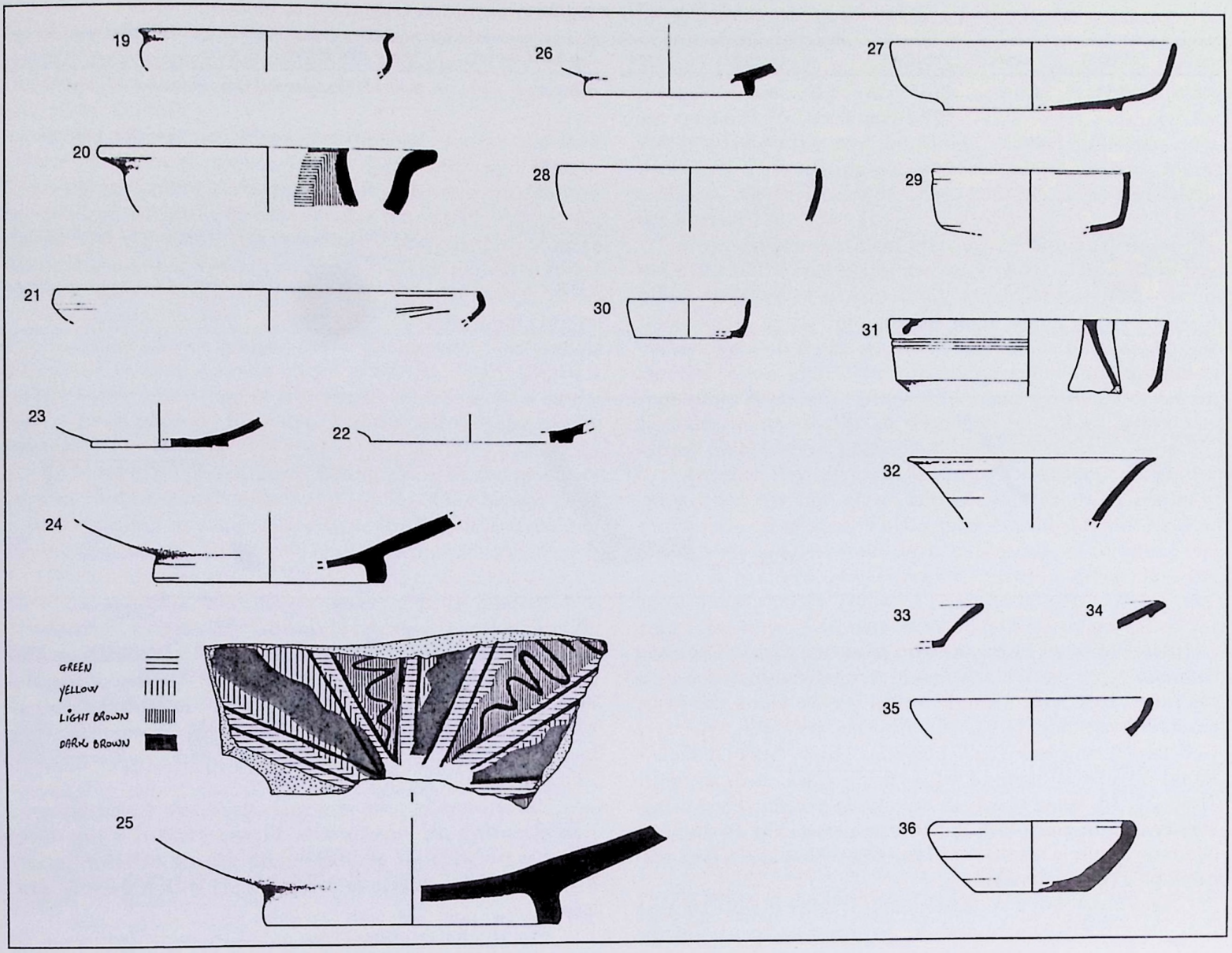
Figure 71, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum*	*Height*	*Area*	*Munsell Color*	*Ware and glaze*
19.	1135/5	707	III, stone pavement	201.30	C	5YR 7/8	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze on interior; white slip on exterior
20.	1130/7	701	II	200.93	C	7.5YR 7/6	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze on interior and exterior
21.	1137/9	706	III	201.20	C	5YR 7/6	As fig. 71.19
22.	1779/8	871	II	197.33–197.67	A		Buff; yellow and green colorants, transparent glaze on interior and exterior
23.	1873	896	III–IV, fill	197.97–198.28	A	5YR 7/4	As fig. 71.20
24.	1132/8	716	III, stone pavement	201.60	C	5YR 7/6	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze with incisions on interior; yellow and green glaze on exterior
25.	1123/10	701	II	200.98	C	5YR 7/6	Red-buff; dark green glaze on interior; white slip on exterior
26.	1109/2	702	I, cobbled pavement	200.39	C	5YR 6/6	Red-buff; yellow and green glaze on interior
27.[e]	1937/8	896	IV	198.19–198.31	A	5YR 7/4	Red-buff; green and brown colorants, translucent glaze, on interior and exterior
28.	2177/5	1036	IV, street	198.23–198.41	A	10YR 6/6	Red-buff; green glaze on interior; green and brown stripes on exterior
29.	2097/3	1031	IV	198.30–198.38	A	10YR 8/4	As fig. 71.19
30[f]	1893/1	882	III	197.70	A	5YR 7/4	Red-buff; yellow matte glaze; green splashes on interior and exterior
31.[g]	1547/3	819	I	196.53–196.77	A	5YR 7/6	Red-buff; yellow matte glaze on interior, with brown stripes
32.	1547/10	819	I	196.77	A	2.5YR 6/6	Yellow matte glaze on interior
33.	1822/2	875	II–III, floor	197.50–197.65	A	2.5YR 6/6	Red-buff; yellow matte glaze on interior and exterior
34.	1595/2	830	III, floor	197.74	A	2.5YR 6/8	Red-orange; green and brown glaze on interior and exterior
35.	1810/1	883	II	197.42–197.87	A	2.5YR 6/6	Buff, soft fabric; brown glaze
36.	1593/15	834	I, floor	197.03	A	10YR 8/4	Buff, soft fabric; brown glaze on interior; white slip on exterior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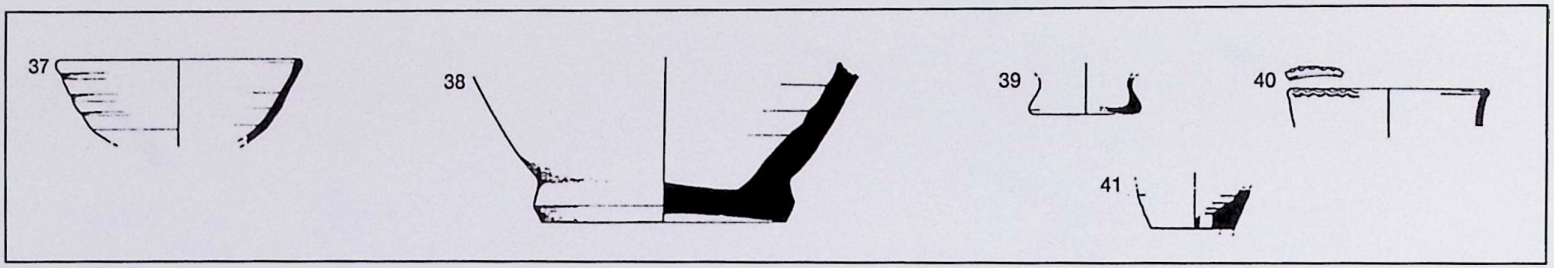
GREEN
YELLOW
LIGHT BROWN
DARK BROWN

Figure 71, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum*	*Height*	*Area*	*Munsell Color*	*Ware and glaze*
37.	1593/7	834	I, floor	196.67–197.03	A	5YR 7/4	Buff, soft fabric; brown glaze on interior
38.	1554/2	819	I, fill	196.53–196.77	A	7.5YR 8/4	Buff, soft fabric; turquoise glaze on exterior; white slip on interior
39.[h]	2075/14	1033	III	197.58–198.07	A	7.5YR 7/4	Buff, soft fabric; blue glaze on exterior
40.	2034/5	1019	II	197.03–197.25	A	5YR 7/4	Red-buff; light green glaze on interior and exterior; finger impressed on rim
41.[i]	2009/3	1002	III, floor	197.91	A	2.5YR 8/4	Buff, soft fabric; light blue glaze on exterior; ivory glaze on interior

[a] See plate 7g. [b] See plate 7j. [c] See plate 4c. [d] See plate 7i. [e] See plate 7h. [f] See plate 4c. [g] See plate 4d. [h] See plate 4b. [i] See plate 4a.



Bases of bowl forms are also fairly standard. The most common type, particularly found among red-buff wares, is the raised base with a single tooled groove along the inner circumference (fig. 71.22, 23). Another common type is a well-tooled ring base (fig. 71.24–27). Thick, heavy bases are found on vessels made of white firing clays, such as figure 71.36, 37, 38, some of which are closed vessels. These often vary in height according to the steepness of the foot. Quite common is the base that is simply cut from the wheel and not tooled (fig. 71.30, 33).

Two bowl forms are particularly worthy of note because they are crudely formed and do not seem to be part of the standard repertoire. Figure 71.29 and 30 are small, shallow bowls with vertical walls and flat bases. Another interesting though infrequent form is figure 71.40. The rim and wall are barely preserved, although the form suggests that the vessel may have been a cup. It has a crenellated rim formed with impressions of a small tool.

Unfortunately, very few jugs or closed forms have appeared during the excavations. Figure 71.38 is a jug of soft white ware with an alkaline glaze on the exterior surface. Figure 71.39 is a bottle or lamp base(?) with a narrow, thick base.

The third category, glaze, is an essential feature of the

repertoire. The most widely used glaze composition is a lead-based glaze.[16] For the most part, a white slip or engobe is applied to the surface that is to receive the glaze.[17] Generally, the glaze appears on the interior of the vessel, but occasionally on the exterior.

Within the group of lead glazed vessels, one encounters a variety of different approaches to application and design. The most common glazed application involves oxides dabbed or splashed on the engobe coat (see fig. 71.10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26). Often the colorants are applied in a more controlled manner and are carefully painted with free-styled stripes or dots (fig. 71.27, 28, 3[?], 4[?]; photo 1937/??).

In addition to these "splash ware" vessels, monochrome application of glazes is also found. The monochrome vessels frequently employ a mossy green glaze (fig. 71.16, 25), or a yellow ochre glaze (fig. 71.19). Figure 71.21 shows a vessel with a green glaze on the exterior and a yellow glaze on the interior.[18]

A brownish colored glaze also appears in the group of colored "splash ware" vessels (fig. 71.34). This brown glaze appears to differ in composition from the brown lead glaze of the cooking vessels (fig. 71.1–9), mentioned previously.[19]

Within the category of splash wares, one must also include the group of lead glazed vessels that are incised with free-formed designs. This group is commonly called "sgraffiato," being similar to vessels found as far east as Iran and as far west as North Africa.[20] At Capernaum, the sgraffiato technique seems to have been highly favored, and a wide range of designs and motifs is encountered. The scratched or incised lines are composed as wavy lines (as in fig. 71.13, 21, 24), or are confined to radial zones (fig. 71.13). One example (fig. 71.24) displays the interior surface divided into racial segments, with alternating segments containing organic motifs and dots. Another example (fig. 71.13) has incised marks on the interior rim.

It is necessary to mention a group of glazed wares that differs from the lead glazes discussed above. The bulk of lead glazes bear an extremely shiny finish and a thick coat of transparent glaze. But among these wares there is also a group of vessels that have a very dull, matte finish and a thin layer of yellow glaze. These so-called yellow matte glazes are sometimes decorated with a dull, thin brown paint having the consistency of slip, or with dots in a thick, glassy turquoise glaze (see fig. 71.29–32).[21]

Another type of glaze found at Capernaum is less frequent than the lead glazes and is easily characterized by its sandy, porous texture. This texture is probably the result of weathering and deterioration. Characteristic of this glaze type is that it is almost always applied to white firing clays that have a soft, sandy fabric. This type of glaze, found in a turquoise blue or in dark brown colors, is often called "an alkaline-based glaze composed of potash, potassium and sodium chloride" (see fig. 71.35–40).[22]

[16] On lead glazes, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 54ff. Ten sherds, representing six different glaze compositions, were analyzed with Kwic-Scan 100, Caotes and Welter, with Kevex EDX Flourescence Analyser, at the Fogg Art Museum, Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Harvard University. Technical analysis on each sample was limited to a simple analysis of the trace elements. Special thanks are due to Eugene Farrow and Richard Newman.

[17] See Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 55.

[18] Green glazes include the elements: *Si*, *Pb*, Ca, Al (Fe), (Cu). Yellow glazes: *Si*, *Pb*, Sb, (Ca?), (Fe), (Al).

[19] Brown glazes: *Si*, *Pb*, (Sb?), Ca, (Fe), (Mn). The "cooking pot" glazes are composed of combinations of *Si*, *Pb*, Al, Fe, (Cu), (Ti?).

[20] Day 1941: 143–46; Lane 1937–38: 33–54; Wilkinson 1973: 56ff.; and Fehérvari 1973: 35ff.

[21] Yellow matte glazes: *Si*, *Pb*, (Sb), (Fe?). Yellow matte, or opaque glazes are similar to the group of opaque glazed wares described in Wilkinson 1973: 205ff. These wares appear at Nishapur in 9th- and 10th-century levels and are found, according to Wilkinson, in sites throughout the Near East, particularly in Syria, Iraq, and Iran.

[22] Turquoise: *Si*, Al, K, Ca, (Fe), (Cu), Na, (Mg?As—magnesium and arsenic cannot be distinguished from one another using this analytical technique.) Brown: *Si*, Al, K, Ca, (Ti), (Mn), Fe. See Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 54; and Frierman 1975: 21f.

Only two sherds found during the excavations can be classified as imported wares from major centers of the Near East. A single sherd of "lustre" ware was found: it is badly deteriorated.[23] Figure 71.41 is a fragment of a lamp or small vessel of unusually fine quality; it is of fine, porcelain like quality covered on the exterior with a turquoise glaze. The interior is coated with an ivory colored glaze. It is difficult to speculate on the origin of this sherd, due to its size and condition.

Concerning the fourth category, firing, at present no firing facilities have been unearthed at Capernaum. Therefore it is impossible to present a discussion on local manufacturing techniques. A lengthy analysis of firing processes would require an extensive study far beyond the scope of this report. The studies of Franken and Kalsbeek, based upon pottery assemblages for the most part similar to that from Capernaum, offer a detailed analysis of firing techniques used during the early Islamic period.[24]

TYPOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Stratum IV

Glazed bowls were relatively uncommon in Stratum IV, although the technique was employed. (No glazed pottery was found in Stratum V.) The lack of quantity of glazed wares makes it difficult to form conclusions regarding the extent of production of these wares. Nevertheless, the use of glazing at Capernaum during the Umayyad period is borne out by evidence directly associated with the gold coin hoard (see below, chap. 6). Sherds with yellow and green monochrome lead glaze were found among the debris surrounding the hoard. Thus, one can decidedly conclude that glazing was practiced during the early decades of the 8th century A.D. and probably earlier.[25]

A number of significant forms appear in contexts of Stratum IV. Figure 71.28 and 71.29 are bowls with straight vertical walls, covered with lead glaze; they exhibit a stance that continues to appear in the ceramic traditions at Capernaum for centuries to come. The bowl form in figure 71.11, on the other hand, displays wide, flaring walls. This form, too, continues to dominate bowl forms for many years. An unusual bowl, or perhaps a platter (fig. 71.27), is an example of the controlled use of glazes and oxides. Green and brown oxides were applied directly to the surface of the vessel, painted in radial strokes. The interior was decorated with large, free-form dots. Dots and larger strokes were repeated on the exterior, and the vessels were covered with a coat of translucent lead glaze. This decorative vessel bears a marked relationship to a bowl found at Khirbet Kerak, assigned by the excavators to the Umayyad period.[26]

The important vessel represented in figure 71.1 can easily be defined as a cooking-pan, since it is a wide, shallow vessel made in cooking ware fabric. It bears traces of burning only on its base, which suggests that it was placed in a closed, frame oven. Its thick, straight walls terminate in a simple rolled rim. The unusual aspect of this vessel is the fact that it is covered on its interior surface with a thin coat of transparent lead glaze. Though this pan form is clearly found in the deposits of Stratum IV, and body sherds bearing the identical glaze on a red-brown fabric have also been found,

[23] On lustre wares, see Frierman 1975: 22-23; and Frierman et al. 1979: 111-26.

[24] Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 56-57.

[25] Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 136-38. Delougaz and Haines 1960: 40ff. reports the presence of glazed vessels in the Umayyad period. Preliminary reports of the excavations at Ramla indicate that glazing, while not overwhelmingly popular, was practiced. See Rosen-Ayalon and Eitan 1969. For further discussion of glazing practices in the Umayyad period, see Day 1941: 143-48.

[26] See Delougaz and Haines 1960: 40, 41f., and pl. 62: 1.

the popularity of this technique develops during Stratum III (see below).[27]

The evidence of Stratum IV, therefore, indicates that the glazing technology was well known. Stratum IV corresponds to the Umayyad period, that is, the end of the 7th–mid 8th centuries A.D. During these years Capernaum enjoyed stable conditions and, judging by the condition of the pottery remains, one can assume that the residents of the site enjoyed some degree of prosperity. This is perhaps only natural, since the region around the Sea of Galilee hosted continuous settlements at Tiberias, Khirbet Kerak, and the newly settled site of Khirbet Minyeh.[28]

Stratum III

In general, one can characterize the ceramic horizon of Stratum III as a period in which glazing techniques come into full prominence. Glazing remains a part of pottery production throughout the duration of settlement.

Brown, lead-glazed cooking vessels have already been encountered in Stratum IV. The glazed brown ware cooking vessels and pans are abundant in Stratum III, and this perhaps attests to the widespread acceptance of the ware and to the refinement of manufacturing techniques during this period. Such vessels, represented in figure 71.4, 5, 7–9, 12 are examples of the variety of shapes adapted for this glaze and ware. Figure 71.4, 5, 7, 8 display a range of shallow pans with flat bases and horizontal loop handles. The pan shown in figure 71.5 shows that miniature, vestigial ledge handles were a popular form of surface decoration for these vessels. Besides this "plastic" form of decoration, some free application of the interior glaze is apparent. Figure 71.4 shows a thin layer of lead glaze splashed on and brushed on in hatched lines on the interior surface of the rim. Figure 71.9 displays large patches of glaze on the exterior surface. For the most part, however, glazing of the red-brown ware vessels was confined to the interior surfaces only. In Stratum III, diagnostic sherds appear more consistently and demonstrate that shapes other than the shallow pan were in existence. Figure 71.9 is a closed-neck vessel bearing traces of burning on the lower exterior surface. Figure 71.12 is an example of a bowl with flaring walls, made of a red-brown fabric similar to that of the wares under discussion and bearing the identical lead glaze.

Published examples comparable to these types of vessels are few, and those bearing a reliable stratigraphic context, during the Abbasid period are more rare. An example similar to the closed-neck glazed vessel (fig. 71.9) was found at Khirbet Mefjer.[29] Examples reported from Tell Abu Gourdan, however, testify that the ware was known in the Jordan Valley.[30] At Khirbet Kerak, two fragmentary examples are reported, although no certain date is assigned to them.[31] At Bethany, as well as other sites,[32] a few examples of brown glazed vessels are mentioned, though not related to certain archaeological contexts. In more distant areas and urban centers (such as Antioch), excavators have found this type of glazed ware in the company of early wares.[33] At Capernaum, it is certain that the technique of glazing cooking vessels begins in the late 7th and early 8th centuries A.D., that is, during the Umayyad period. The practice seems to have

[27] See n 15. The appearance of glazed cooking pots is attested from the latter part of the 7th century A.D. at Tell el-Burj near Askelon; see Frierman 1975: 11–12, 83.

[28] See Puttrich-Reignard 1939b: 9–29; and Grabar et al. 1960: 226–43.

[29] See Baramki 1944: 71 and fig. 13: 10 (Ware 18c).

[30] See Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 92.

[31] See Delougaz and Haines 1960: 46, nos. 12 (bowl), 13 (jar), 14 (jar), and 15 (spout of jar). Parallel examples are rare, as reported by F. E. Day.

[32] Bethany, Saller 1957: 251. Similar types are also reported from the excavation of the hippodrome at Caesarea; see Riley 1975: 40.

[33] Waagé 1948: 88, Class I R 5.

remained popular during successive periods there and was in use at other sites until the 13th century, if not later.[34]

The next important group of glazed vessels appearing in Stratum III are lead glazed vessels with glazed coats on both the interior and exterior surfaces or part of the exterior surface. The glaze is sometimes monochrome—green, yellow, or brown—or a combination of these three colors occurs, wherein they are applied in a free-formed manner resulting in a running of colors on the surface of the vessel. This technique is best described as the "color splash" technique.[35] Though the decorative effects of the glaze vary from example to example, the technique of firing and the material of the glaze seem to be consistent. A transparent lead glaze was applied over oxides, which created the colors of yellow, green, and brown. The three basic colors seem to have been applied randomly and freely to the surface of the pot, and the uncontrolled running occurred during the process of firing. The finished product bears a glossy sheen over colors that are brilliant in hue. Figure 71.19 is a monochrome glazed lead bowl of a mustard yellow color. A bowl of the same form, figure 71.15, bears a polychrome glaze of green and yellow colors.

Very few rim-forms survive in Stratum III. Figure 71.12 is a bowl with slightly everted rim; and the bowl in figure 71.21 is an example of an inverted rim. The most popular profile appears to be the bowl with carinated wall and everted rim, a form that continued to be popular in succeeding strata (fig. 71.15, 19).

Along with the "color splash" decorative treatment of the surface, another decorative technique appears on the bowls shown in figure 71.21, 24. Thin incisions made with a sharp tool cut through the layers of glaze and slip to reveal the fabric of the vessel. Such incisions consequently create linear designs and serve to divide and control the interior surface of the vessels. This "sgraffiato" technique occurs on vessels in Strata III through I, and is found at Capernaum in geometric free-style designs on vessels with brown, green, and yellow-polychrome glazes, and green and yellow monochrome glazes.[36]

Study of the development of the technical process of glazing, and of economic production in the Palestinian sphere, is still in its infancy. Pioneering work on both the technological, as noted above, and the typological aspects of the pottery industry are needed. It has already been stated that glazed wares are found at sites that were settled during the Umayyad period.[37] Yet glazed pottery in large quantities seems to become a prominent feature among ceramic assemblages only after the end of the Umayyad period. Sites within the geographical region offering a clear 9th-century context are still surprisingly rare. Remains of settlements have been noted at Khirbet Mefjer, Abu Gosh, Khirbet Shema^{c}, Pella, and Khirbet Kerak, although the stratigraphic remains are not as clearly defined as one would like.[38] At the recent excavation of a site close to Tiberias—Gannei-Ḥammath—a large basalt stone building (Complex A) was discovered, including a chamber identified as a workshop for glazing pottery vessels. Within this room, a complete vessel was found "in situ," which, according to the excavators, contained pigments for raw glazes. On the basis of numismatic material and epigraphic data, the building has been assigned to the early 8th century A.D. Although it was destroyed in an earthquake about 747 A.D., the structure was rebuilt and remained

[34] At el-Qubeibeh, pans with interior brown glaze are found in 12th-13th century contexts. See Bagatti 1947: 124, fig. 29: 16.

[35] See the fundamental studies of Sarre 1925: 62-63; and Wilkinson 1973: 34ff. for discussion of the "color splash" wares.

[36] For discussion of technique, see Lane 1937-38: 33-36.

[37] See above, n 28.

[38] Baramki 1944: 70-71, 74, Wares 16 and 16A, which are assigned to the Abbasid period; and see the remarks of F. E. Day, in Delougaz and Haines 1960: 43, n 30; on Abu Gosh see de Vaux and Steve 1950: 119-23; Meyers et al. 1976: 213-16; Fitzgerald 1931: 15-17; Smith 1973: 238-39; and Saller 1957: 277-78.

TABLE 6. Glazed Pottery from Area A[a]

Stratum	Color splash			Monochrome			Sgraffiato			Yellow matte			Blue			Brown			Cooking pots			Others		
	Body	Rim	Base	Body	Rim	Base	Body	Rim	Base	Body	Rim	Base	Body	Rim	Base	Body	Rim	Base	Body	Rim	Base	Body	Rim	Base
IV	2	6	2	8	–	–	1	–	–	2	2	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
IV–III	6	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
III	5	4	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	4	4	2	–	2	–	1	–	–	3	–	–	2[b]	–	–
III–II	4	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
II	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	5	6	2	–	1	1	–	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
II–I	2	3	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	2	1	2	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
I–Surface	5	12	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2[c]	–	–
Mixed strata	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	1	–	2	–	2	3	–	–	–	–	–	–

[a] Sherd count based on sorted pottery from four seasons. [b]1 lustre(?); 1 blue tin(?). [c]2 ivory tin(?).

in use until the 10th or 11th century.[39] Unfortunately, the results of its excavation and the material found there remain unpublished. Examination of the ceramic remains in storage at the Department of Antiquities and Museums in Jerusalem reveals that the numerous pottery found in the building are almost similar. Without the aid of spectrographic analysis, it would be difficult to determine the provenance of the Capernaum "color splash" glazed bowls. However, it would seem that a ceramic center was located at Tiberias—a city that apparently fostered the economic and commercial industry of the region during this period.[40]

Color splash wares and sgraffiato decorated wares, however, are found in a wide geographical area. Evidence from North Syria would clearly confirm the use of such wares in the 9th century A.D. Ceramic deposits from Mina, both with and without the sgraffiato technique, are assigned to 9th and 10th century contexts.[41] A 9th-century context (i.e., during the Abbasid period) is assumed on the basis of the results of the excavations at Samarra on the Tigris, the seat of Abbasid rule from A.D. 836 to 886.[42] Results at Nishapur also confirm a 9th-century A.D. context.[43] The Susa evidence, too, dates from early in the Abbasid period.[44] In the excavations at Tell Abu Sarifa, Adams has revealed evidence attesting to the use of color splash wares in the mid-9th century A.D.[45] Further excavations are needed to calculate the appearance, distribution, and gradual disappearance of this type of glazed ware. Only with evidence from excavations throughout a broad

[39] Oren 1971: 274–77.

[40] See the preliminary remarks of Frierman 1975: 12, who, on the basis of neutron activation analysis studies, has suggested centers of major ceramic production at Ramla and Tiberias. For a brief but thorough history of the settlement and economic life of Tiberias after the Arab Conquest, see Avissar 1973: 91–96.

[41] Lane 1937: 19–78, 34–37. Compare fig. 2 and pl. XVII (1) and (2) and pl. XVIII (2) and (3).

[42] Sarre 1925: 62–64.

[43] Wilkinson 1973: 54ff. Cf. plate 6a–b.

[44] Rosen-Ayalon 1971: 204–8; and 1974, groups 15, 175, and 208, of level 2, late 8th–9th centuries.

[45] Adams 1970: 118–19.

geographical region can we learn of the origins of this style of pottery and its span of use in Western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean world.[46]

In addition to lead glazes of the "color splash" or "sgraffiato" type, glazed wares found in Stratum III at Capernaum are of the "yellow matte glaze" variety. Table 6 shows that yellow matte wares were in use in Stratum IV and continued in Stratum III. Two examples, figure 71.30, 33, were found in fill deposits and above floor deposits, respectively, associated with Stratum III, and they are among the few vessels of this glaze type that have preserved rim orbase forms. Figure 71.30 shows a small bowl with vertical sides and simple, string-cut base. Figure 71.33 is an example of a bowl with wide, flaring sides and a simple, flat base. Both examples suggest that potting techniques associated with this type of ware were not sophisticated or well developed. However, more evidence of complete forms is needed to support this assumption.[47]

Turquoise vessels and brown vessels coated with an alkaline-based glaze have also turned up in Stratum III. The evidence, although scarce, indicates that these wares first came into use during this period.[48] Figure 71.39 is of soft buff ware with a sandy texture; it is covered with a thick turquoise glaze on the exterior. The fragment is a base of what may have been an imported lamp.

Stratum II

The settlement of Stratum II appears as an occupation that had severely declined in economic prosperity. Stone pavements were replaced with simple beaten-earth floors laid about 40–50 cm. above. New, poorly constructed partition walls were added during this phase, indicative of the subdivision of the internal space of the building to provide for a greater number of occupants.

Despite the drastic changes in the economic setting, the traditional, familiar methods of pottery manufacture seem to have continued as in previous periods. No major shift in the approach to pottery decoration, or in the development of new forms of glazed vessels, is detectable. Bowls (fig. 71.10, 16, 17, 20, 22, 25) bear a glossy lead glaze applied in a manner similar to that encountered in Stratum III. The same forms as those in Stratum III—carinated bowls and flaring, straight-rimmed vessels—dominate the repertoire. Examples of bowls with carinated walls are figure 71.16, 17, 20. Figure 71.16 is a bowl of red-buff ware with a monochrome green glaze on the interior. The exterior surface is covered with a white slip and dark green glaze appears on the rim only. The bowls in figure 71.10, 25 are examples with flaring walls decorated with running glazes of yellow, green, and brown. Alkaline glazes appear in debris deposits of Stratum II, but only one rim form is worthy of reproduction: figure 71.35 is a rim of a small, open bowl, treated with this special glaze on both interior and exterior.

Continuity of the glazing tradition is also confirmed by the appearance of glazed cooking pots. Figures 71.3 and 71.6 are examples of the open pan type from Stratum IV on. Worthy of note is an unusual vessel fragment found in Stratum II (fig. 71.40); this delicately formed vessel, with relatively thin walls, has a rim decorated with a shallow coil, applied ribbon-like. The vessel was covered with a light green lead glaze, evenly on exterior and interior. The thinness of its walls seems to indicate that this vessel was used as a fine cup.

[46] For summary and current assumptions on dating, see Fehérvari 1973: 32–40; Grube 1976: 86, n 1, and distribution chart; Rosen-Ayalon 1974: Appendix VI; and Philon 1980: 2f., 35f.

[47] See above, n 21; and the evidence from Nishapur in Wilkinson 1973: 205ff. ("opaque yellow ware").

[48] This would appear to be the case according to the evidence at Capernaum. Unfortunately, comparative evidence from well stratified sites is lacking. For the appearance of white firing clays with "alkaline" type glaze, see Franken and Kalsbeek 1975: 131; Delougaz and Haines 1960: 44, no. 5; and Fehérvari 1975: 34.

On the whole, the evidence suggests that Stratum II continued without change the ceramic traditions of the preceding period. Evidence of archaeological nature, discussed above, suggests that Stratum II represents the late 9th to 10th centuries A.D.[49]

Stratum I

Because the occupational layers of Stratum I were relatively close to ground level (at a depth of about 25–30 cm.), and since the certain layers were disturbed by modern activities, very little ceramic or numismatic remains were found on the floor levels. Nevertheless, one may draw some conclusions concerning the nature of occupation of the building during its final stages. It is possible to determine the date of ceramic deposits of Stratum I by way of analogy or by considering other ceramic deposits of the medieval period in Israel. Entirely absent is the characteristic pottery identified as originating in the 12th and 13th centuries, that is, the pottery found at the nearby Khirbet Minyeh as well as at Afula, Abu Gosh, Heshbon, and Beth-Shean, and dating to those centuries.[50] One may also note that Crusader pottery, particularly that associated with Athlit, has not been found during the excavations at Capernaum.[51] However, the bowl in figure 71.13, with its curious incisions (which may be an inscription), might be a Crusader fragment. The fabric is a dark brown ware and the unglazed exterior is carefully and evenly smoothed with a thick cream-colored slip. This fragment is, nonetheless, the only such sherd found on the site.

The pottery of Stratum I stands in a continuous line with preceding phases at Capernaum. The familiar glazes are again encountered in this stratum, and techniques of glazing and firing remain constant. Figure 71.26 is a fragment of a base of a bowl glazed in the color splash tradition. Carinated bowls of color splash wares (fig. 71.18) and bowls with everted rims (fig. 71.14) continue to be made in this phase.

Vessels covered with yellow matte glaze also continue to appear in Stratum I. Figure 71.32 is a form encountered in Stratum III (cf. fig. 71.33), with straight, flaring walls. The bowl in figure 71.31 has straight, vertical walls. This form, however, has parallel grooves on the exterior rim—a technique of decoration not otherwise observed.

In the category of glazed cooking pots, a new form is encountered: figure 71.2 displays a cooking vessel with relatively thin walls and a deep, somewhat globular body. Wide ledge-handles are placed at the rim.[52]

Another unknown form appearing in Stratum I is a closed vessel (fig. 71.38), perhaps a jug. The interior has signs of a deteriorated white slip; the exterior has traces of a turquoise-blue glaze. Bowls with alkaline glazes (fig. 71.36, 37) are forms already encountered in earlier strata.

CONCLUSION

Further excavation of sites in the Levant, in Western Asia, and in the eastern Mediterranean will undoubtedly fill in gaps in our understanding of glazed pottery production during the early medieval period. Only with a large corpus of ceramic evidence can the numerous shapes and forms in the pottery repertoire of this era be distinguished and classified

[49] Analogous ceramic lots are difficult to locate for this phase occupation at Capernaum, since there are few excavations that report an occupation level between the Abbasid period and the early Crusader period. At Tel Yoqneam, successive excavations may provide comparable evidence; see Ben-Tor et al. 1979: 65–83.

[50] Compare the glazed wares dated to the 11th–13th centuries at Afula; Dothan 1955: 19–70; Zori 1973: 244–45; Puttrich-Reignard 1939b: 26–29; and Grabar et al. 1960: 237–39.

[51] See Johns 1934: 137–43.

[52] This form is comparable to a cooking pot found at Tel Yoqneam, assigned to the Crusader period; see Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978: 57–82.

with accuracy. The evidence of glazed pottery revealed at Capernaum does not provide the key criteria for establishing a typology of Islamic glazed wares, but this evidence does allow an insight into a local ceramic tradition that spanned more than 400 years without interruption.

The glazed pottery of Capernaum clearly demonstrates that its potters were attuned to the technological achievements of the Islamic world. The glazes encountered at Capernaum are of types known in the wide reaches of the realm of Islam. Apart from the technique of glazing, such standard forms as bowls with carinated bodies or straight flaring walls demonstrate that the Capernaum potters were not working with individual, independent styles. Indeed, bowls with carinated or flaring walls, or everted rims, appear at major medieval sites. But apart from the connection with broader ceramic traditions, the Capernaum pottery also demonstrates a certain degree of individuality. New and unusual forms (such as the cooking pots in fig. 71.2 and 9, and the bowls in fig. 71.30, 31, 40) display originality and an individual approach to vessel design. The degree of individuality of the Capernaum ceramic repertoire and its uniqueness can only be judged, however, in the light of material from larger centers, such as Ramla, Jerusalem, Tiberias, or Damascus.

Finally, the pottery of Capernaum is also significant in reconstructing life during the early medieval period, not only in its positive evidence but also in the lack of certain vessel types. It has been noted that a dubious sherd of lustre ware turned up, and perhaps some small sherds of questionable imported wares. Yet other fine wares, known in the ceramic repertoires of Samarra, Nishapur, Fustat, and other centers of commerce, have not appeared, for example, the "slip-carved" wares or vessels with elaborate figure designs or decorative inscriptions. It is therefore necessary to turn to the evidence of larger urban centers of the Palestine region, such as Ramla or Jerusalem, for a closer understanding of commercial and cultural interchanges during this period.

4

small finds

Vassilios Tzaferis
and
Michal Peleg

The minor objects from the excavations at Capernaum are varied and reflect daily life on the site, representing the activities and occupations of the local inhabitants (fig. 72). Especially noteworthy are the lead weights (or "sinkers") from fishing nets, which complement certain of the architectural finds in confirming the existence of a fishing industry. Another group of small finds are the agricultural implements (picks, knife-blades, etc.) pointing to another means of livelihood. A third group of small objects, relating to food processing, includes pestles and querns—objects found on almost every farming site of the Roman-Byzantine and Early Arab periods.

Another category altogether is the jewelry (various beads, rings, and bracelets), accompanied by such cosmetic utensils as spoons, kohl sticks, combs, and mirrors.

Such objects were not found in large quantities in the Capernaum excavations, though their scarcity does not necessarily indicate their sparse use there (but is probably accidental).

A totally separate category is that of the glass fragments discovered in abundance in all strata on the site. The manufacture of glassware, well developed in Roman-Byzantine times, continued to flourish in Palestine in the Early Arab period as well and, like pottery production, the glass industry continued its activities without any apparent break following the Muslim Conquest. Generally, the local glassware of the Early Arab period resembled the earlier ware, with some changes such as in thickness, vessel size, colors, or decoration. Since glass is inherently fragile, only small fragments of vessels were found. We have therefore decided generally not to publish the material found, limiting ourselves to a few of the more significant fragments that have unique decoration.

In general, the minor objects here are not indicative of a rich urban center, but rather of a rural town employing essential utensils, in both the field and the home.

*Figure 72. Small Finds/Minor Objects from Area A**

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum*	*Description*
1.	2155	1038, street 4	III	Pick-axe, iron
2.	2199	1029, building A, room 4	*IV*	Pick-axe, iron
3.	2161	1044, building C, room 1	IV	Hammerhead, iron
4.	2241	1063, building A, room 1	*V*	Hoe, iron
5.	1942	907, building D, room 1	V	Nail, iron
6.	2204	1028, building A, room 1	*IV*	Nail, iron
7.	2021	1005, east of building D	III	Nail, iron
8.	1942	907, building D, room 1	V	Nails, iron
9.	2109	1036, street 1	IV	Nail, iron
10.	1839	894, building D, room 2	*IV*	Nail, iron
11.	1926	907, building D, room 1	IV	Nails, iron
12.	2199	1029, building A, room 4	*IV*	Nail, iron
13.	2258	1066, building B	*V*	Nail, iron
14.	2067	1006, building D, room 1	*V*	Nail, iron, square section
15.	2262	1064, street 2	*V*	Fishing weight, lead
16.	2135	Wall 211, building A, room 5	III	Fishing weight, lead
17.	2131	Wall 211, building A, room 5	III	Fishing weight, lead
18.	2337	1082, south of building F	*II*	Fishing weight, lead
19.	2242	1063, building A, room 1	*V*	Fishing weight, lead
20.	2012	1004, building A, room 2	*III*	Fishing weight, lead
21.	1811	886, courtyard 2	II	Strip (fishing weight ?), lead
22.	2117	1036, street 1	IV	Arrowhead, bronze
23.	1704	Wall 138, building D, room 4	I	Blade, iron
24.	1577	830, building A, room 3	*III*	Knife-blade, iron
25.	2124	1031, building D, room 2	*IV*	Knife-blade, iron
26.	2083	1014, building A, room 4	*III*	Knife-blade, iron
27.	2132	1014, building A, room 6	*IV*	Knife-blade, iron
28.	2379	1094, street 4	IV	Knife handle, bone
29.	2067	1006, building D, room 1	*V*	Bar, iron
30.	2199a	1029, building A, room 4	*IV*	Grindstone
31.	2173a	1038, street 4	*III*	Anchor, stone
32.	1831	891, building A, room 5	*IV*	Loop, iron
33.	1825	884, building A, room 2	*III*	Loop, iron
34.	2110	1036, street 1	IV	Fragment of figurine (head), clay
35.	1521	803, courtyard	I	Fragment of animal figurine, clay
36.	2398	1091, street 4	V	Weight, stone (190 gr.)
37.	2265	1063, building A, room 1	*V*	Weight, stone (188 gr.)
38.	2347	1088, north of building F	I	Weight, stone (130 gr.)

Figure 72, continued

No.	*Basket*	*Locus*	*Stratum*	*Description*
39.	2050	Wall 226, building B	III	Weight, lead (28 gr.)
40.	2315	1068, street 4	III	Loom-weight, stone
41.	2308	1082, south of building F	*II*	Loom-weight, stone
42.	1593	834, building F, room 2	*I*	Loom-weight, clay
43.	2322	1084, building D, room 2	*V*	Pestle, stone
44.	2361	Wall 230, courtyard 1	II–IV	Pestle, stone
45.	2141	1006, building D, room 1	*V*	Palette, stone
46.	2316	1082, south of building F	*II*	Finger-ring, iron
47.	1535	—	Surface	Finger-ring, iron
48.	1576	820, building G, room 2	*II*	Finger-ring, iron
49.	1555	811, building H, room 2	II	Finger-ring, iron
50.	2382	1088, north of building F	Surface	Finger-ring, bronze
51.	1526	809, building A	I	Bead, glass
52.	1503	802, building H, room 1	*II*	Twisted bracelet, glass
53.	1628	841, courtyard 1	I	Fibula(?), iron
54.	2356	1082, south of building F	*II*	Fibula(?), iron
55.	2397	1091, street 4	V	Pin, bone
56.	2381	1076, building C, room 1	IV	Pierced disc, bronze
57.	2095	—	Surface	Buckle, iron
58.	1614	839, building A, room 4	III	Comb, bone
59.	2139	1043, building B, room 7	*III*	Cosmetic spoon, bronze
60.	1635	842, building A, room 3	IV	Cosmetic spoon, bronze
61.	1796	874, street 4	III	Kohl-stick, bronze
62.	2173	1038, street 4	*III*	Kohl-stick, bronze
63.	2143	1044, building C, room 1	III	Plaque (mirror ?), bronze
64.	1211	729, Area C	*V*	Ornamental plaque, bone
65.	2278	1068, street 4	IV	Fragment of goblet(?), bone
66.[a]	2198	1048, street 1	*IV*	Inscribed sherd, clay, glaze
67.	1808	885, street 1		Cup fragment, impressed, green glass
68.	2007	1006, building D, room 1	*V*	Bowl fragment, ribbed, green glass
69.[b]	1915	869, building A		Cup fragment, impressed, green glass
70.[c]	1923/1	905, street 1		Cup fragment, impressed, glass
71.[d]	1600	834, building F, room 2		Gem, glass, incised with Chi-Rho monogram

* Italicized stratum number indicates item is from undisturbed locus; other items ascribed to strata according to findspot.

[a]Not illustrated in figure, see plate 5j. [b]Not illustrated in figure, see plate 2b. [c]Not illustrated in figure, see plate 2c. [d]See also plate 2d.

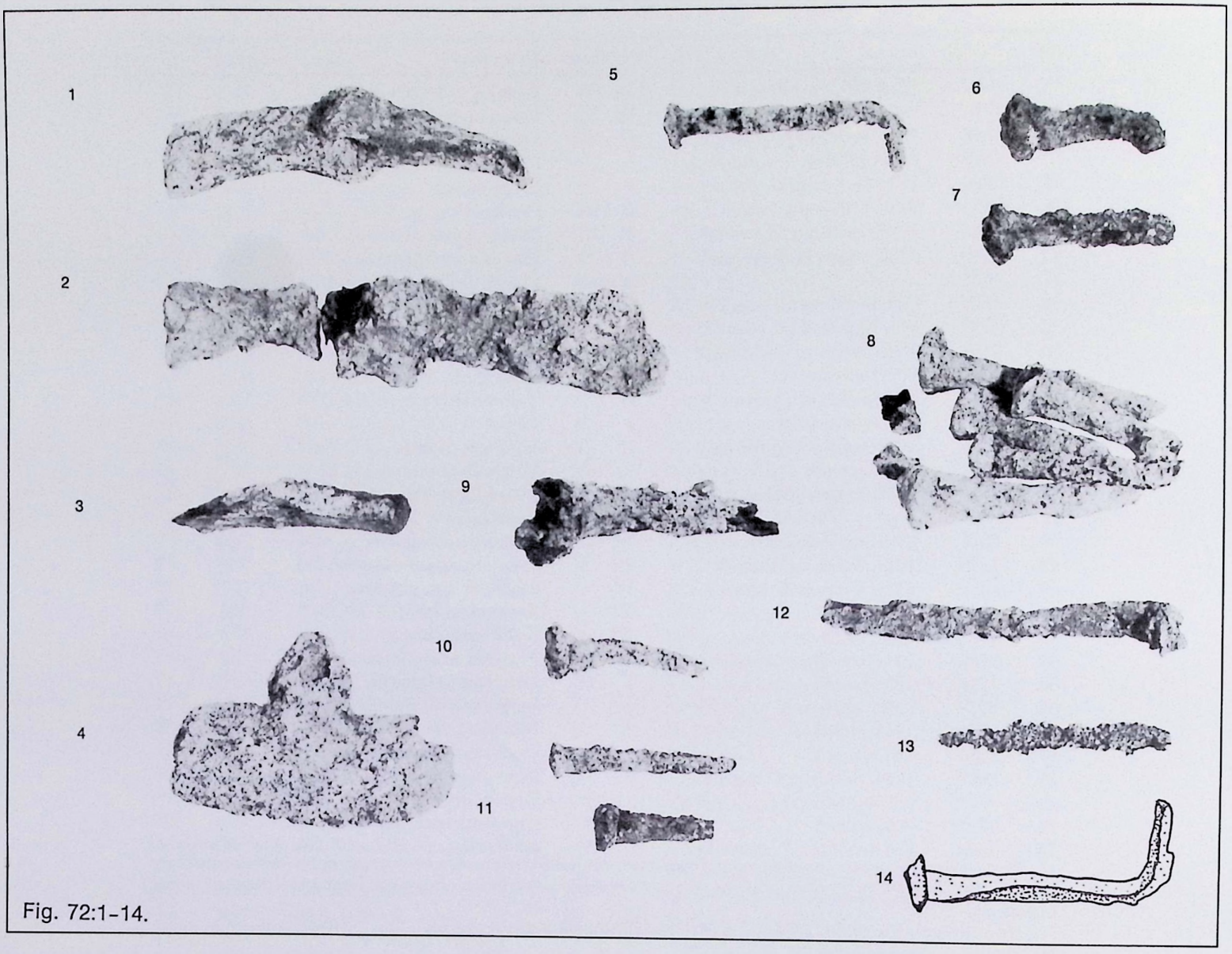


Fig. 72:1–14.

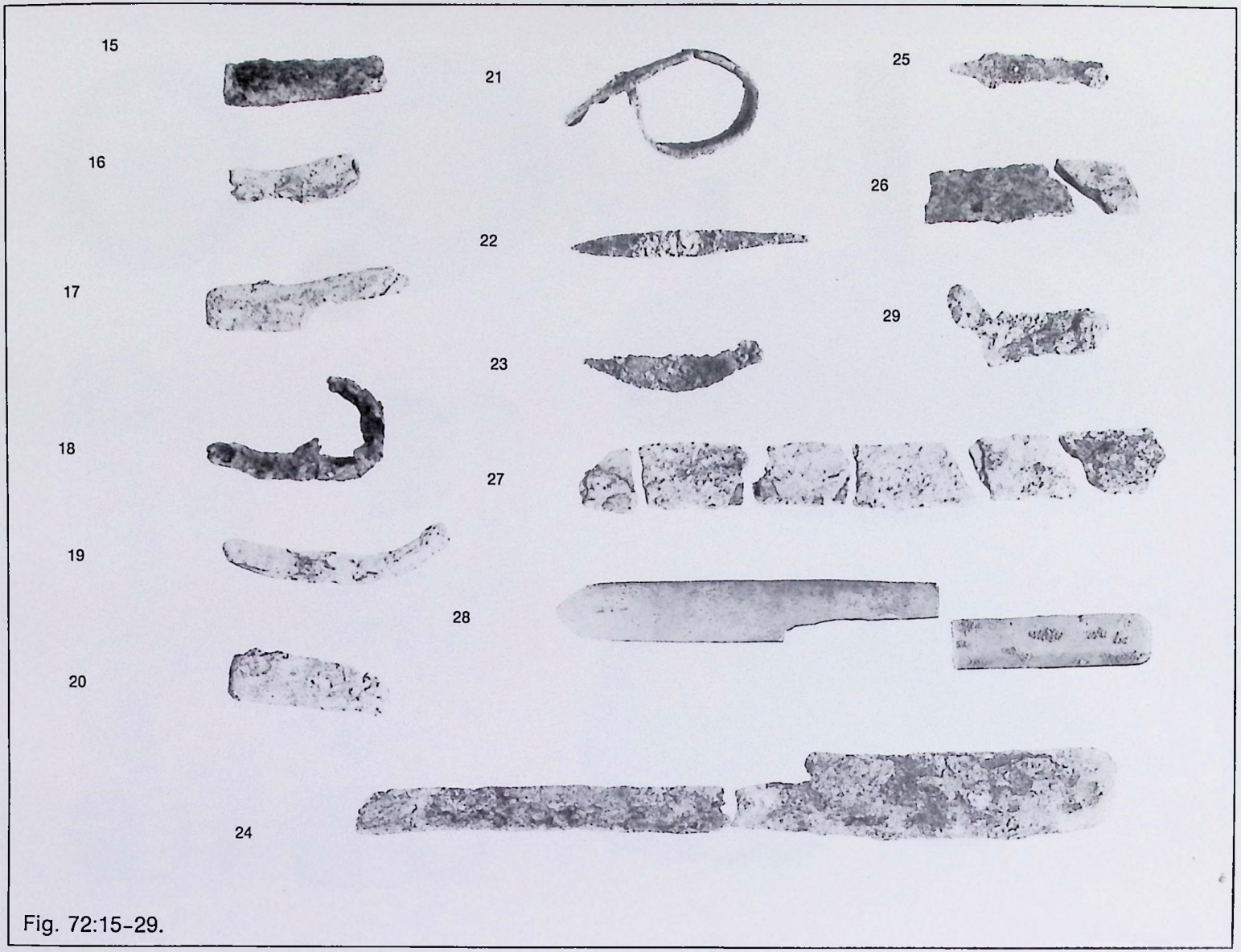


Fig. 72:15–29.

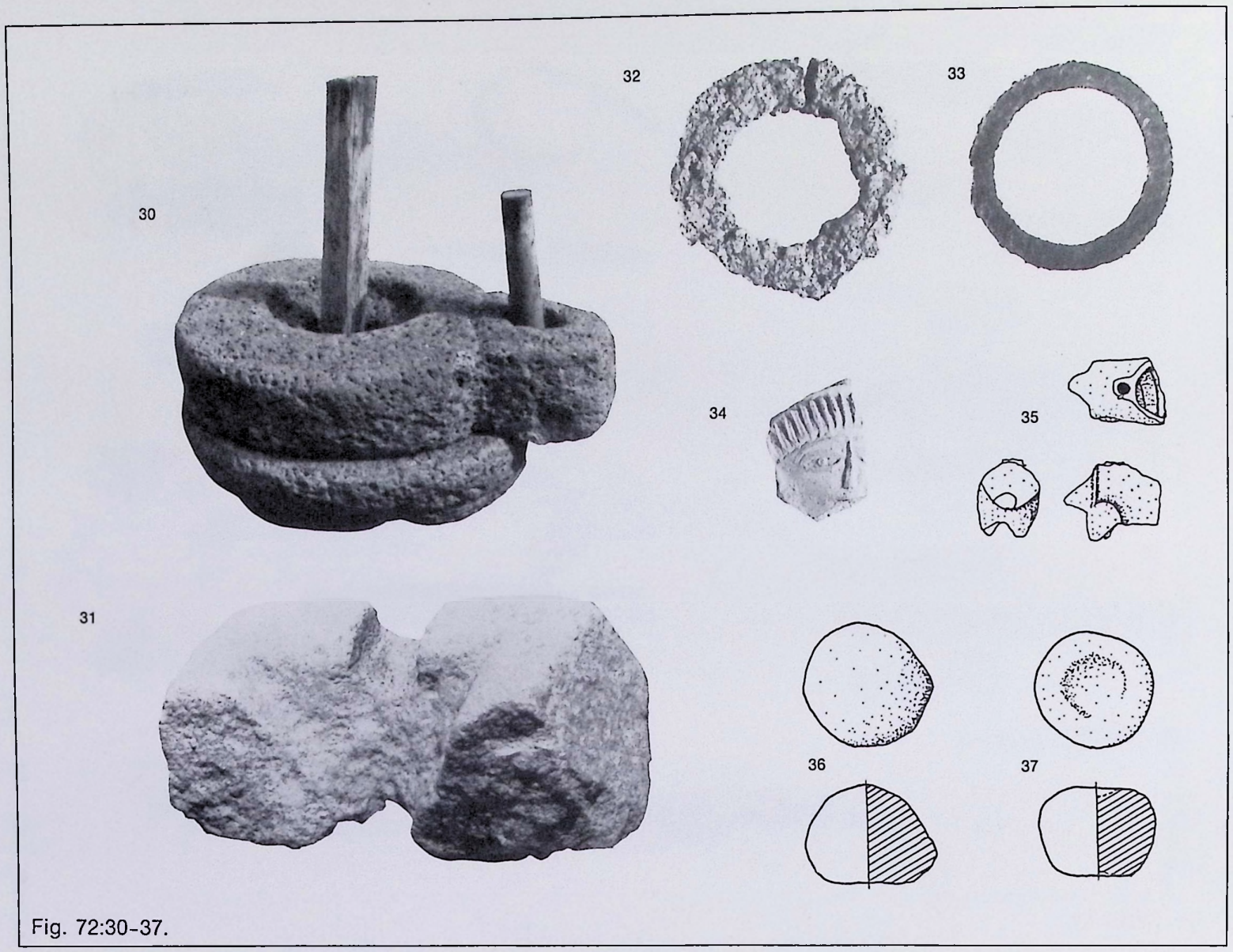


Fig. 72:30–37.

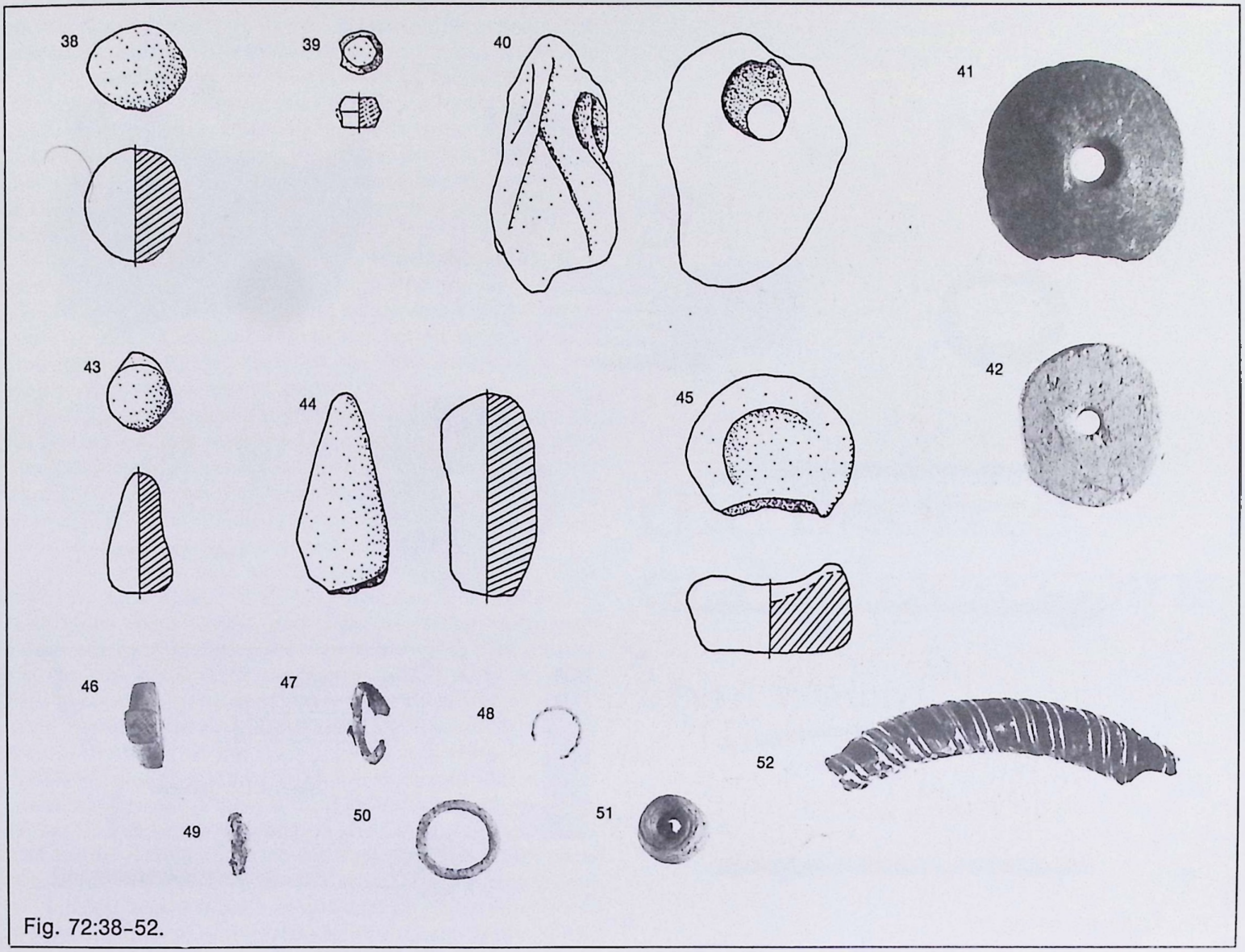


Fig. 72:38–52.

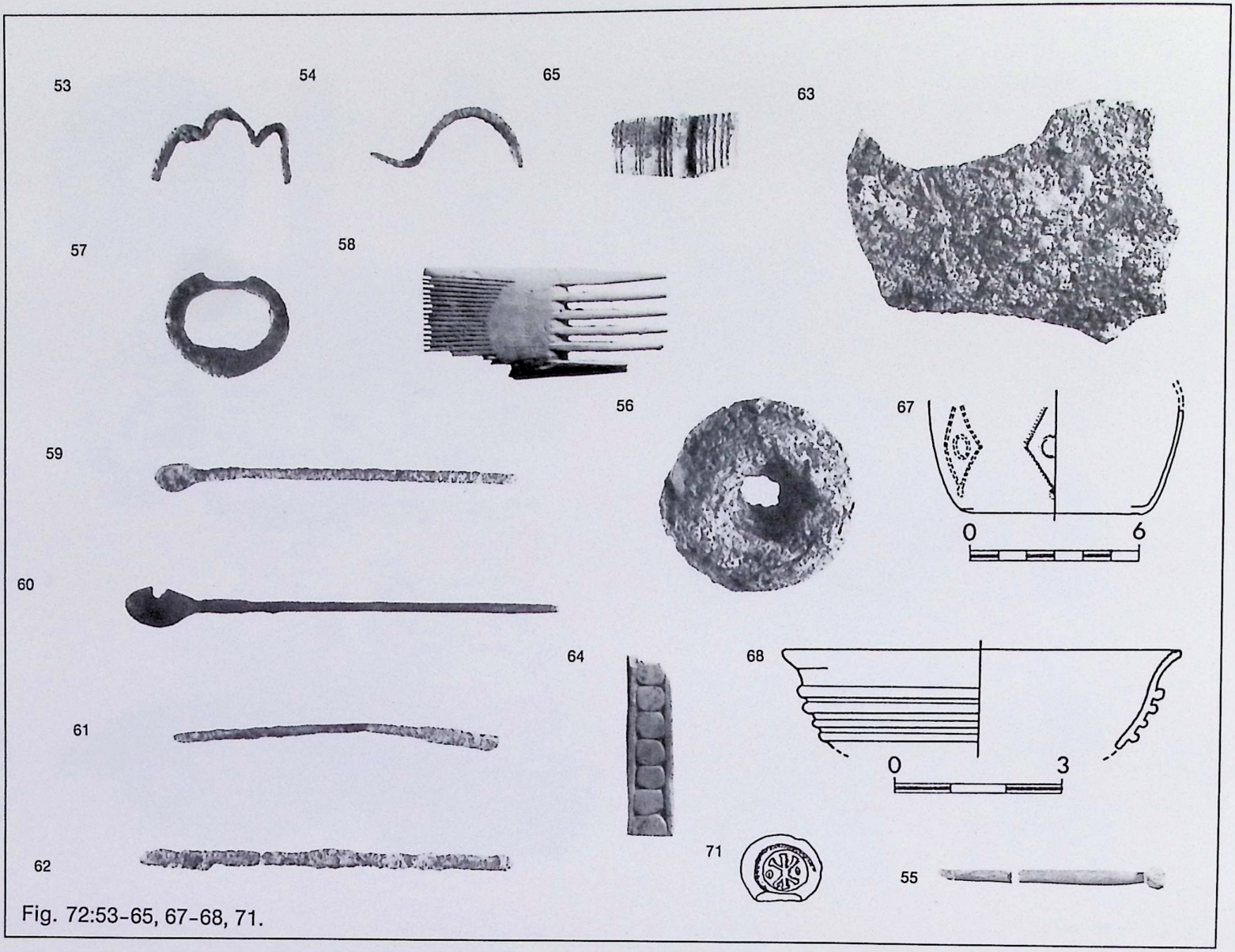


Fig. 72:53–65, 67–68, 71.

5

the bronze and silver coins

John F. Wilson

A large percentage of the coins found during the excavations at Capernaum were in very poor condition and hence were unidentifiable. It is unfortunate that the soil on the site did not contribute to the preservation of bronze or silver. (The gold hoard, of course, was unaffected by these adverse conditions; see below, chap. 6.) Figure 73 presents one silver and thirty bronze coins that, to varying extents, are identifiable. Figure 74 presents a small hoard of silver dirhams. Most of the identifiable coins are from Area A, and a few from Area C.

Despite the relative paucity of identifiable coins, they span the period of the occupation of the site in a rather comprehensive manner—from the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate in the 1st century A.D. to the period of the British protectorate in Egypt, early in the 20th century. A few general observations may be made.

(*a*) The site yielded a high percentage of coins from the 4th century A.D. and from the Umayyad period (ca. A.D. 660–750). Noticeably absent are coins from the Byzantine period (except for one example) and the Abbasid period. Other periods that are represented do not present sufficient numismatic or other evidence to prove occupation.

(*b*) Of special note are the three Arab-Byzantine coins found in Area A (fig. 73.17–19), from mints at Damascus, Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), and Tiberias. These coins were based on Byzantine coin types current during the 7th century A.D., to which the Arab conquerors added Kufic legends. They represent a transitional stage from Byzantine to purely Arab, Islamic coinage as introduced by ʿAbd al-Malik, and are usually dated to the early decades following the Arab Conquest (though Michael Bates has suggested they did not actually appear until early in ʿAbd al-Malik's reign; see Bates 1979a: 4). The mints recorded on the Capernaum examples lend further weight to the theory that Arab-Byzantine coins circulated rather narrowly, mostly around the minting cities.

(*c*) Also representing a transitional phase are two Umayyad coins with clear representations of animate objects (birds,

[*text continues on p. 142*]

*Figure 73. Coins from Capernaum**
(all of bronze except where stated otherwise)

No.	*Period*	*Ruler/Dynasty*	*Date (A.D.)*	*Mint*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*	*Weight (gr)*	*Size (mm)*	*Area*	*Square*	*Stratum*	*Locus*	*Basket*	*Reference*
1.	Early Roman	Pontius Pilate	30	Jerusalem	Lituus; legend: TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC	Date in wreath: LIS (retrograde Z = 17)	1.56	15	A	C/6–7	Unstratified	102	514	M.230A (pl. XXX)
2.	Early Roman	Hadrian	130–131	Gaza	Bust; legend: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC	Nude Heracles, standing; legend: ΓΑΖΑ, ΑΦΡ (= 191)	5.32	16.5	A	B/7	III	1043	2142a	R.52
3.	Roman	Elagabalus(?)	218–222(?)	Scythopolis(?)	Bust	Two figures standing	14.24	28	A		Surface		1510	R.39–10(?)
4.	Roman	Severus Alexander(?)	222–235	Decapolis(?)	Bust	Two heads facing(?)	12.05	24	A	D/8	V	1080	2402	
5.	Roman(?)			(City coin?)		(Large, thick fabric)	13.55	24	C	C–D/7	Unstratified	605/607	1017	
6.	Late Roman	Constantine I	306–332	London			3.37	22	A	C/8	IV	1031	2116	RIC VII, p. 102, no. 88
7.	Late Roman	Constantius II	337–340		Memorial to Constantine I	Emperor in chariot; four horses	1.06	14	A	D/5	IV	1016	2047	
8.	Late Roman	Constantius II(?)							C					
9.	Late Roman	Constantine II(?)					3.67	16.5	A	D/8	V	1080	2395	
10.	Late Roman	Julian II	360–363	Constantinople	Bust; legend: DNFLCLIVLI ANUSPFAUG	Bull; star	8.47	27.5	A	B/9	IV	894	1849	RIC VIII, p. 462, no. 163
11.	Late Roman	Valentinian II(?)	375–392			Standing figure, gesturing to left(?)	1.32	13	A	C/9	V	1059	2292	
12.	Late Roman	Valentinian II	375–392				1.1	11	A	B/5	I (below surface)	1090	2371	
13.	Late Roman(?)		4th cent.(?)				1.09	12	A	A/5	Surface	103	522	
14.	Late Roman						1.51	14	A	A/5	Surface	103	528	
15.	Late Roman(?)		4th cent.(?)						C		Unstratified	605	1008	
16.	Byzantine	Justin I	518–521				2.49	21	A	C–D/6–7	IV	1032	2104	
17.	Arab-Byzantine	Umayyad	ca. 650	Damascus	Emperor standing	Large M; cross above, star within; Arabic legend: ...ولا...	4.54	22	A	C/6–7	Unstratified	102	527	Cf. Walker 1956, p. 8

Figure 73, continued
(all of bronze except where stated otherwise)

No.	*Period*	*Ruler/Dynasty*	*Date (A.D.)*	*Mint*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*	*Weight (gr)*	*Size (mm)*	*Area*	*Square*	*Stratum*	*Locus*	*Basket*	*Reference*
18.	Arab-Byzantine	Umayyad	ca. 650	Scythopolis (Beth-Shean)	Two imperial figures	Large M; cross above; in right field: ...NNO	13.44	31	A	C/5	Fill	101	518	Walker 1956, no. 1
19.	Arab-Byzantine	Umayyad	ca. 650	Tiberias	Three figures (Heraclitus and sons)	Large M; Kufic legend to right; Greek legend to left and below: (THBEPIA)ΔO	3.85	24	A		Surface		1520	Cf. Walker 1956, no. 43
20.	Arab	Umayyad	(early)			*Note:* Bird not flying (as Walker 1956, no. 590), but resting on pedestal. Detached object above bird's body, on upper right	1.91	17	A	D/9	Baulk	1047	2157	Cf. Walker 1956, no. 590
21.	Arab	Umayyad	(Post-Reform)						C					Cf. Walker 1956, no. 631
22.	Arab	Umayyad	(Post-Reform)		Outer circle; legend in field	Double circle; legend in field	1.16	16.5	A	C/6-7	Unstratified	872	1802	Cf. Walker 1956, no. 698
23.	Arab	Umayyad	(early)	Tiberias(?)	Triple circle; legend in field	Eagle, lying on side above 3-line legend in field	5.15	22.5	A	D/5	III	884	1826	Cf. Walker 1956, nos. 886-87
24.	Arab	Umayyad	(Post-Reform)	Damascus(?)					C					Walker 1956, no. 836
25.	Arab	Umayyad	(Post-Reform)	Tiberias			2.86	15.5	A	D/6	IV	1028	2201	Cf. Walker 1956, no. 898
26.	Arab	Umayyad	(Post-Reform)	Tiberias			3.09	20	A	E/7	Baulk	1017	2059	Walker 1956, no. 898
27.	Arab	Umayyad	(Post-Reform)				0.80	13	A				1650	
28.	Arab	Umayyad	(Post-Reform)		(AR dirham; legend obliterated)		2.00	25	A	C/4-5	IV	891	1834	
29.	Arab	Fatimid (El-Mustanser)							C					
30.	Arab	Mamluk							C					
31.	British Protectorate, Egypt	Hussein Kamil	1916		(CuNi; 5 milliemes)		4.85	23	A		Unstratified		1543	

[a]Only nos. 6, 10, 17, 20, and 23 are illustrated.

Fig. 73:1–31. Coins from Capernaum (bronze and silver).

fig. 73.20, 23), a practice later condemned and absent on Post-Reform coinage.

(*d*) Where it can be known, the mint locations of the coins found at Capernaum follow predictable patterns: Palestinian cities during the Early Roman period; Imperial mints during the Late Roman period; and Damascus for gold, former Persian territories for silver, and local city mints for bronze, in the Umayyad period.

(*e*) The hoard of silver dirhams was found in a corner of a room adjacent to that which yielded the gold hoard. However, their dates would suggest the possibility of an earlier date of deposition, ca. A.D. 740/741. All the dirhams are from territories formerly controlled by the Sassanian empire. Of particular interest are the two minted in Armenia and Dārābjird, respectively.

Figure 74. The Silver Dirham Hoard
(Findspot: Area A, Locus 1029 [Stratum IV], Basket 2218)

No.	Date A.H.	Date A.D.	Mint	Weight (gr)	Reference
1.[a]	91	709/710	?	(broken)	—
2.	96	714/715	Iriminiya (Armenia)	(broken)	Walker 1956, "T," p. 110
3.	96	714/715	Dārābjird	1.86	Walker 1956, no. 345
4.	120	737/738	Wasit	2.3	Walker 1956, no. 570
5.	121	738/739	Wasit	2.4	Walker 1956, no. 571
6.	122	739/740	Wasit	2.37	Walker 1956, no. 573

[a]Too fragmentary to photograph properly.

Fig. 74:1–6. The Silver Dirham Hoard.

6

the gold hoard

John F. Wilson

THE DISCOVERY

On June 1, 1982, close to the end of the day's work, a large paving stone was removed from the center of the floor in the northern end of the eastern room (Room 1) of the larger building in Area A (plan 11; figs. 75, 76). The stone, set into the soil ca. 2.5 m. from the northern entrance to the room, was ca. 40 cm. wide, roughly circular, flat but slightly rounded on top. It was ca. 30 cm. thick, with four flat faces sloping sharply to a square base ca. 25 cm. wide. This curious "cut diamond" shape left a sloping depression in the ground (fig. 77). When an excavator brushed the bottom of this depression, a large number of gold coins came to light (see plate 3). They were slightly scattered, having been contained by the shape of the depression, which had apparently been scooped out somewhat at the bottom when the stone had originally been moved in order to bury the hoard beneath it. Careful investigation of the surrounding soil color indicated that the coins had been deposited directly into the ground, without any cloth or leather bag, though there may have been some such container made of a material that has left no trace, but this is unlikely.

The hoard consists entirely of dinars of the "post-reform" type dating from A.H. 77 to 126 (A.D. 696/697–743/744). Thus, it falls within the period of the Umayyad caliphate (A.D. 661–750). All the coins of the hoard are clearly dated, with specimens from each date between A.H. 77 and 126, except for A.H. 125 (A.D. 742/743). A large majority (71%) of the 282 dinars were minted during the reigns of ʿAbd al-Malik (A.H. 65–86), al-Walid (A.H. 86–96), and Sulaiman (A.H. 96–99). All are of the aniconic type (bearing no images), and, with the exception of the differing date (and one very rare specimen of the "Maʿadin Amir . . ." type, see below), all bear the identical inscription. The legends are as follows:

Obverse, in field:	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	*There is no god except Allah alone; He has no partner.*
around:	محمد وسول الله اوسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله	*Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth that he may make it victorious over every other religion* [Sura 9:33].
Reverse, in field:	الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد	*Allah is One, Allah is the Eternal. He begets not, neither is He begotten* [Sura 112:1–3].
around:	بسم الله ضب هذا الدينر سنة___	*In the name of Allah this dinar was struck in the year——.*

ORIGINS OF THE UMAYYAD DINAR

The discovery of such a large number of Umayyad dinars under scientifically controlled conditions provides an unparalleled opportunity for numismatists and historians of the Early Arab period. The design of the dinars themselves and the composition of the Capernaum hoard, compared and contrasted with other known hoards of Umayyad dinars, provide a fascinating insight into the cultural, political, and religious world of Syro-Palestine at the intersection of two world-views: the Islamic and the Byzantine.

Within twenty years after the death of Muhammad, the Arabs had carved an empire out of territories formerly controlled by the Byzantines and the Persians: Syro-Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, and Persia. They brought no tradition of coinage with them into these new territories, at first being content merely to continue whatever monetary systems already existed

Fig. 75. Area A: Building A, Room I, the gold hoard, in situ.

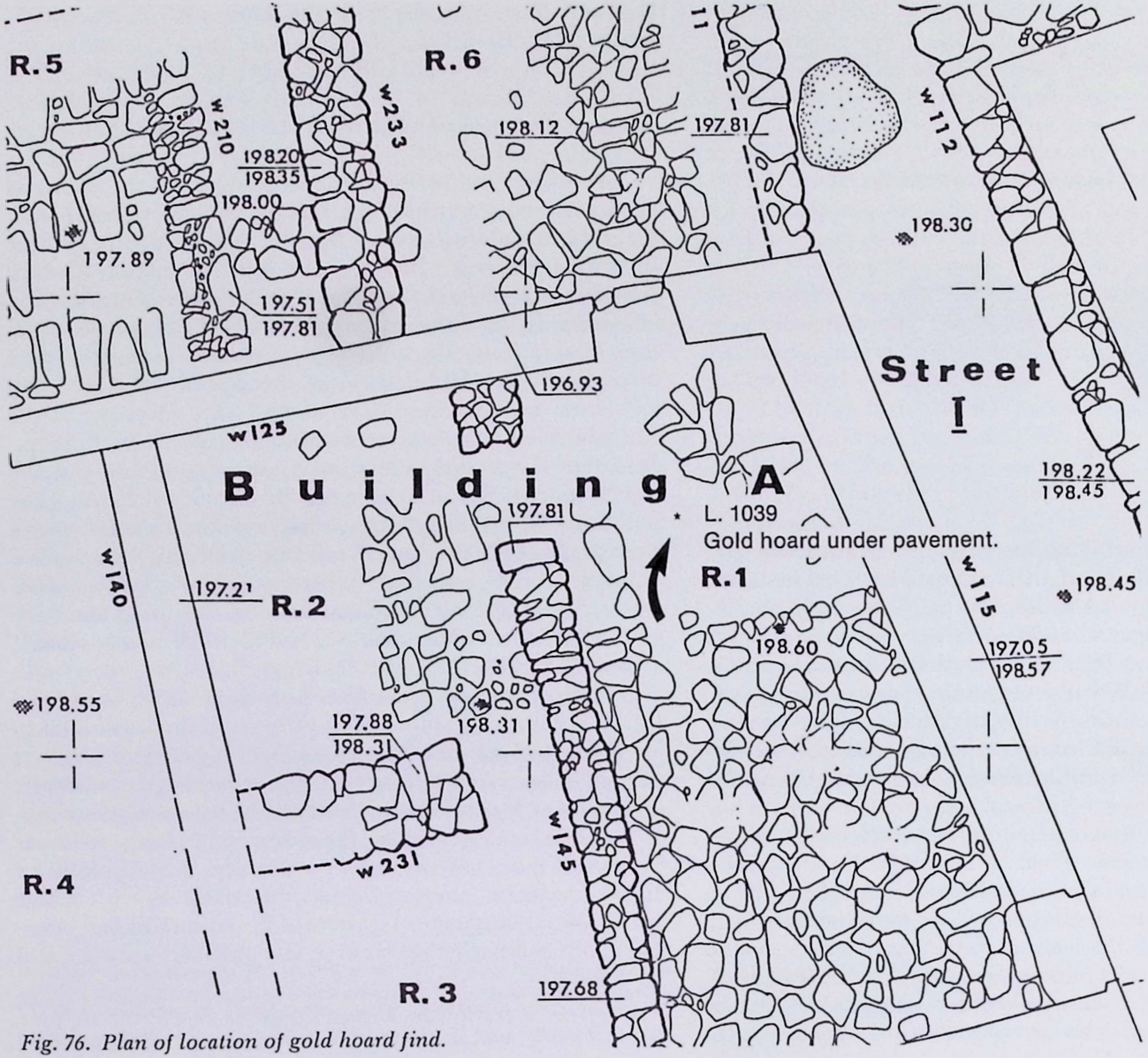


Fig. 76. Plan of location of gold hoard find.

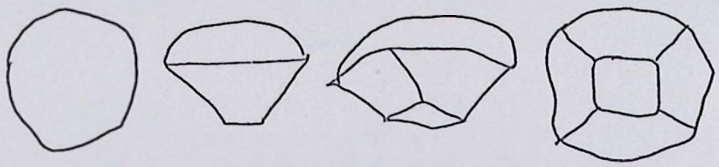


Fig. 77. Paving stone under which the treasure was found.

Fig. 78. Example of coin type.

there. This meant that Byzantine gold and bronze coins and Sassanian-Persian silver dirhams remained legal tender. With the elevation of ᶜAbd al-Malik to the caliphate, a distinctive Islamic coinage began to evolve. George Miles describes a dirham of A.H. 75 (A.D. 695) on which the Sassanian fire-altar has been replaced by Islamic liturgical symbols and the portrait of the Persian king by that of ᶜAbd al-Malik himself (Miles 1952: 156–71). The bronze coins minted by the Muslim conquerors retained Byzantine designs but began to exhibit Arabic inscriptions.

As for gold, the Byzantine *solidus* continued to hold the field for several decades. Then, in the mid-70s A.H., ᶜAbd al-Malik issued experimental gold coins depicting three standing figures (patterned after a type of Heraclius) or a single royal figure. In the latter case, the figure represents the caliph himself, bearded, wearing a *kufiyah* instead of a crown, and holding a sword. On the reverse, the Byzantine cross mounted on stairs has become a sort of knobbed pole. Coins of this type exist with the dates A.H. 74, 76, and 77 (Miles 1959: 207–21).

THE REFORMS OF ᶜABD AL-MALIK

Tradition has attributed the appearance of the distinctly Islamic dinar, exemplified by those in the Capernaum hoard, to a religio-political dispute between ᶜAbd al-Malik and the Byzantine emperor, Justinian II, both of whom assumed power in A.D. 685. As the story goes, papyrus manufacturers in Islamic Egypt began putting Muslim slogans on the headings guaranteeing the authenticity of their products. Statements such as "Muhammad is the Apostle of God" and "There is no God but Allah alone" were offensive to the Christians, who had to purchase their papyrus from Egypt. Justinian threatened retaliation by minting *solidi*, still the legal coin in Egypt, with anti-Muslim legends. At some point during the dispute he actually did issue a *solidus* with a portrait of Christ and a representation of the emperor holding a cross, identified as *Servus Christi* (Walker 1956: liv–lv). ᶜAbd al-Malik first responded by minting the transitional coins mentioned above, and then the purely Islamic dinars (cf. Ockley 1857: 486–87).

While this story does have historical basis, the actual reason for the appearance of the Umayyad dinar is found in the context of a much broader change in policy. The desert tribesmen from Arabia were now ruling over their vast empire with more self-confidence. Awed at first by the superior cultures of Syria and Persia, they were now ready to assert themselves culturally as well as militarily. ᶜAbd al-Malik set out to "arabicize" the empire; he replaced Greek with Arabic as the official language of government and carried out extensive administrative reorganization and monetary reform (Hitti 1960: 217).

The new currency, which appeared in gold in A.H. 77 (A.D. 696/697) and in silver in A.H. 79 (A.D. 698/699), exhibits

the breath of this reform. First, the weight of the new gold dinars differed from that of the Byzantine *solidi*, the latter averaging 4.5 gr. The few surviving specimens of the transitional dinars, bearing the effigy of the caliph, prove to be based on the Byzantine standard, but the new "post-reform" dinars are not. The hundreds of surviving specimens have produced an average of 4.25 gr. (Grierson 1960: 247).[1]

The new weight standard can be attributed to the general policy of "arabicizing." An old Arab measurement of weight, called a *mithqal*, divided into twenty carats of exactly 4.25 gr. each (Grierson 1960: 258). Thus we can see here a conscious effort by ᶜAbd al-Malik to replace a Byzantine standard with one of his own heritage.

While the new dinar was reduced in weight, its purity was kept assiduously high. An extensive study of the Umayyad dinars at the American Numismatic Society in New York, using the specific gravity method, showed that the majority had a degree of fineness of 96%, and that 89% of them tested to between 96% and 99% fineness. Rather than suffering debasement as time passed, the Umayyad dinar actually seems to have improved in fineness. Those issued by Hisham (A.H. 105–125) are above the averages mentioned (Ehrenkreutz 1959: 135–37; cf. Miles 1972: 267–68). The conquerors obviously had no intention of issuing coinage that would not equal and eventually replace that of their predecessors.

But if the weight and purity of the "post-reform" dinars obliquely suggest the maturing of Arab cultural self-confidence, the legends selected for the new coins do so directly. A coin is a small object and the space on it is precious since its wide circulation makes it an excellent billboard for proclamation of official policy. The legends and symbols of ancient coins were chosen with great care. As Oleg Grabar has pointed out, a change in coinage "reflects a highly conscious and official use of visual form and symbols" and thus a change "can be accepted as a succession of conscious choices by the highest level of the culture and of the empire" (Grabar 1973: 95). ᶜAbd al-Malik chose to state in the clearest possible way that Islam was different from Christianity. The legends on the "post-reform" dinars are at the same time a fierce polemic against the roots of Byzantine Christianity and a self-confident statement of Islamic self-definition. These facts may be seen first in the design of the coins, particularly the strict disappearance of all representational art, and second in the specific choice of legends.

The Arab historian Bukhari records a tradition in which the Prophet Muhammad declares: "Those to be most severely punished on the day of judgement are the painters" (Hitti 1960: 271). Upon this *hadith* is based the Islamic prohibition of representation art.

During the late 7th and 8th centuries A.D., all three Abrahamic faiths were grappling with the question of images in religious art. The attitude of the Jews varied with the times: a period of strict prohibition during the 1st century A.D. was followed in the succeeding centuries by a flowering of representational art, during which Palestinian synagogues were ornately decorated with representational carvings and mosaic floors featuring the signs of the zodiac. But by the end of the 5th century A.D. the attitude again changed and it was apparently at that time that the synagogue at Capernaum was purged of all but its floral and geometrical decorative designs (Sharf 1971: 70).

The Byzantine Christians steadfastly maintained the legitimacy of their icons and other forms of religious representational art until midway through the Umayyad period. In A.D. 726 the Byzantine emperor Leo initiated the Iconoclastic Controversy, which severely disrupted the Church. And in A.D. 750 he ordered the icons to be destroyed.

[1] Ancient coins always vary somewhat in weight, but conform to a set standard on the average. The weight of the early dinars in the Capernaum hoard averages somewhat below this standard. Those from ᶜAbd al-Malik's reign average 4.173 gr., while those from the reign of his successor, al-Walid I (A.H. 86–96), average 4.126 gr.

Table 7. Correlation of Dates A.H. and A.D. in the Umayyad Dynasty.

77 = 696/697	87 = 705/706	97 = 715/716	107 = 725/726	117 = 735	127 = 744/745
78 = 697/698	88 = 706/707	98 = 716/717	108 = 726/727	118 = 736	128 = 745/746
79 = 698/699	89 = 707/708	99 = 717/718	109 = 727/728	119 = 737	129 = 746/747
80 = 699/700	90 = 708/709	100 = 718/719	110 = 728/729	120 = 737/738	130 = 747/748
81 = 700/701	91 = 709/710	101 = 719/720	111 = 729/730	121 = 738/739	131 = 748/749
82 = 701/702	92 = 710/711	102 = 720/721	112 = 730/731	122 = 739/740	132 = 749/750
83 = 702	93 = 711/712	103 = 721/722	113 = 731/732	123 = 740/741	
84 = 703	94 = 712/713	104 = 722/723	114 = 732/733	124 = 741/742	
85 = 704	95 = 713/714	105 = 723/724	115 = 733/734	125 = 742/743	
86 = 705	96 = 714/715	106 = 724/725	116 = 734/735	126 = 743/744	

Islam had long since settled its policy on the matter. ʿUmar II (A.H. 99–101/A.D. 717–720) had written a letter to Leo, even prior to the Iconoclastic Controversy, asserting the superiority of Islam precisely on the basis of its prohibition of images (Sharf 1971: 68). However, despite the tradition of condemnation by the Prophet, the policy developed only gradually in fact. We have seen that the earliest Islamic coins had human depictions, and the caliphs' palaces were still being decorated with representational art down to the end of the Umayyad dynasty (e.g., al-Walid's Qusayr Amrah and Hisham's palace at Jericho). The aniconic dinars represent a change in *public* policy that did not extend into the private quarters of the Umayyad aristocracy.

ʿAbd al-Malik's numismatic statement of this new policy is elucidated by his famous architectural statement of it: the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Oleg Grabar has shown that this building, standing on the site of the Jewish Temple and towering above the Christian Church of the Holy Sepulcher, was intended by the caliph as a dramatic monument to the victory of Islam over its predecessors (Grabar 1973: 49–57). The inscriptions displayed in the building make its purpose clear. With more space available, the caliph could spell out in detail what could only be hinted on the coins. A few of the Koranic phrases from the long inscriptions (translated in Grabar 1973) above the arches of the inner octagonal arcade serve to catch the spirit of the site:

> Say: *He is God, the One; God the Eternal; He has not begotten nor was He begotten*; and there is none comparable to Him [Sura 112].
>
> And say: praise be to God, Who has not taken upon Himself a son, and *who has no partner* in sovereignty . . . [Sura 17:3].
>
> O ye People of the Book, overstep not bounds in your religion; and of God speak only truth. The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only an apostle of God, and His Word which he conveyed into Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from Him. Believe therefore in God and his apostles, and say not "Three." It will be better for you. Far be it from His glory that He should have a son [Sura 4:169f.].
>
> The true religion with God is Islam; and they to whom the Scripture had been given differed not until after the knowledge had come to them, and through mutual jealousy. But as for him who shall not believe in the signs of God, God will be prompt to reckon with him [Sura 3:17].

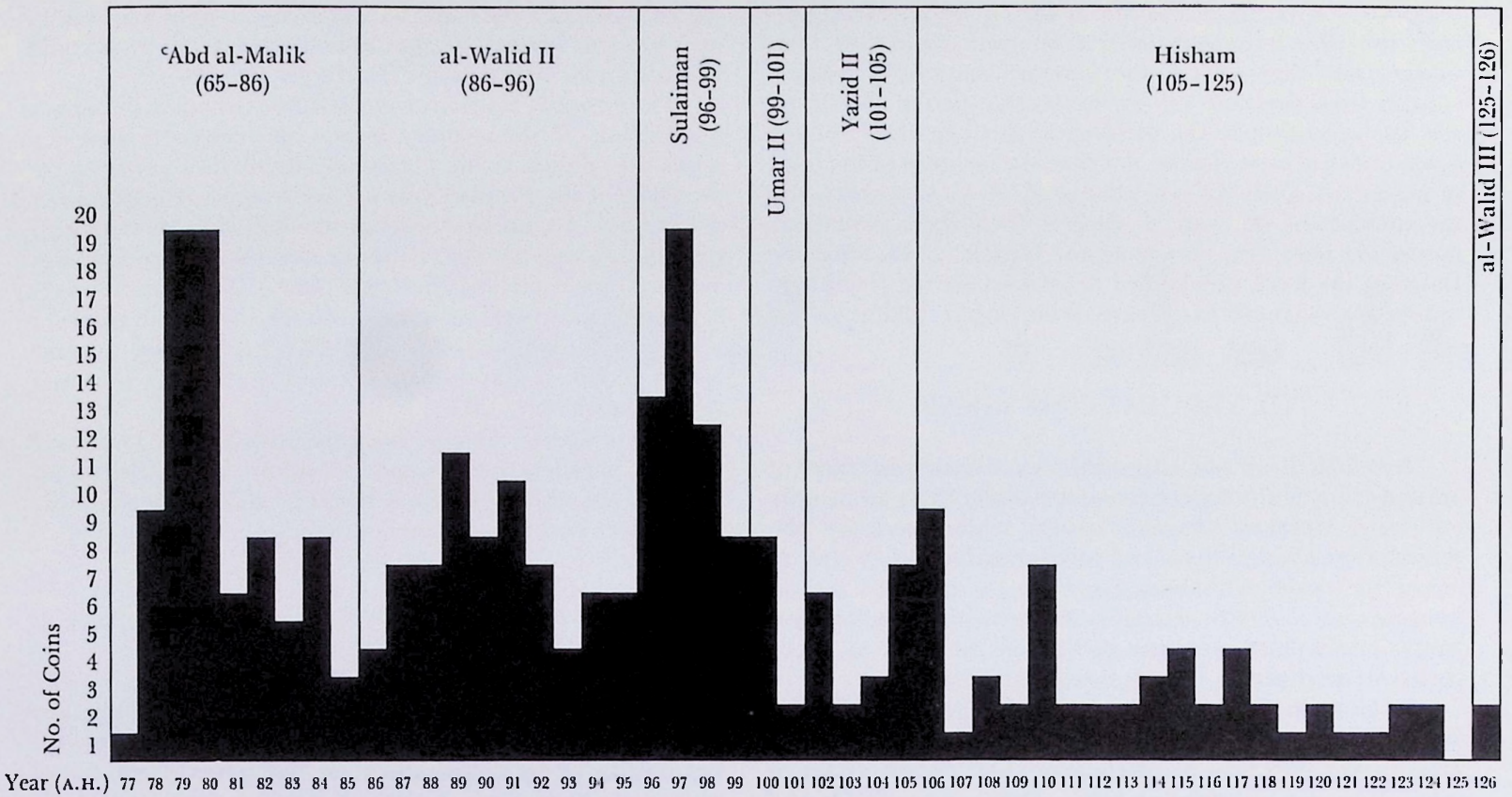


Figure 79. The Capernaum Hoard (I5).

Finally, on the north entrance gate is inscribed: "*He it is who sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, so that he may cause it to prevail over all religion,* however much the idolaters may hate it" (Sura 9:33). It should be noted that this is the earliest known occurrence of this verse on a monument (Grabar 1973: 63).

We can now see that the inscriptions on the "post-reform" dinars are abridgements of those sentiments found on the walls of the Dome of the Rock and are indeed found there almost verbatim (note the italics above). Every time a non-Muslim in Syro-Palestine performed a business transaction involving gold coins, he handled a vivid reminder of the

religious and political realities of his environment. Apparently the coins were considered to be quite effective by their makers, and they became the standard pattern for Islamic coinage from that time on. At this earliest period everything else was secondary to the theological message. The caliph's name does not even appear, nor does the location of the mint in most cases. Only the year changes from issue to issue, and the number of the year is itself a theological statement, measuring time as it does from the Hijrah. Thus, what the Dome of the Rock proclaimed to all who visited Jerusalem, the dinar proclaimed to the ends of the empire, and beyond.

THE VALUE OF THE DINAR

It is difficult (if not impossible) to compare the value of ancient coins with modern monetary units; there are simply too many variables. Ancient writers seldom recorded the prices of mundane objects and often mention prices only to amaze the reader with how expensive (or cheap) a certain item was on a certain occasion. Records of tax collection, booty, and tribute represent such large amounts as to be useless in determining the value of a mere few dinars.

Among the Byzantines, a single *solidus* could provide bare survival for a year. A soldier could be maintained for four *solidi* a year (i.e., *per diem* provisions of two loaves of bread, a pound of meat, oil, and a bottle of wine). On the other hand, a single suit of clothing might cost one full *solidus* (Kent and Painter 1977: 160; Burnett 1977: 5). It is said that in the days of the Prophet, camels cost about 10 dinars each, cows about 5, and sheep 1. A robe of Yemen cost about 5 dinars (Lane-Poole 1884: 89). The poll tax on non-Muslim subjects during the late Umayyad period amounted to 4 dinars per annum for the rich, 2 for the middle class, and 1 for the poor (Hitti 1960: 171). A Spanish slave might bring up to 1,000 dinars and a Turkish slave 600 (Hitti 1960: 235). Kitab al-Aghani tells a delightful story of the poet Dahman, who purchased a slave girl for 200 dinars, taught her to sing, and then sold her to a stranger (who turned out to be al-Walid the caliph) for 10,000 dinars (Hottinger 1963: 50–52).

Government pensions were doled out to many thousands of Muslims. If the recorded figures are converted from dirhams into dinars at the Umayyad rate of 12:1, pensions for members of the Prophet's family were about 300–400 dinars per annum. An ordinary warrior received about 40–50 dinars per annum, and women, children, and clients received from 15 to 50 dinars per annum (Hitti 1960: 172). Pensions might even go to conquered peoples: Yazid III ordered the governor of Egypt to grant stipends of 20–25 dinars a year to some 30,000 people of that country, most of them of the working-class (Shaban 1971: 157).

These figures must be regarded with great caution and are not sufficiently consistent to allow firm conclusions. Nevertheless, the Capernaum hoard of 282 dinars obviously represents a considerable sum of money.

INVENTORY OF UMAYYAD GOLD HOARDS

The discovery of a large, intact hoard of Umayyad dinars at Capernaum under controlled archaeological conditions provides a new opportunity for a general inventory and survey of other finds of Umayyad gold. The following inventory gathers all available information on such finds. With one significant exception, hoards that are clearly Abbasid are omitted, even if a few Umayyad dinars are included in them. Two Byzantine gold hoards are included, clearly representing the transition from Greek to Arab rule in Syro-Palestine and illustrating how the hoard inventory reflects the history of the late 7th and early 8th centuries A.D. in the area quite specifically. Unfortunately, hoards most often come to light accidentally, and are immediately scattered among local residents, dealers, and, finally, collectors without proper recording or study. I have included a number of hoards that fall

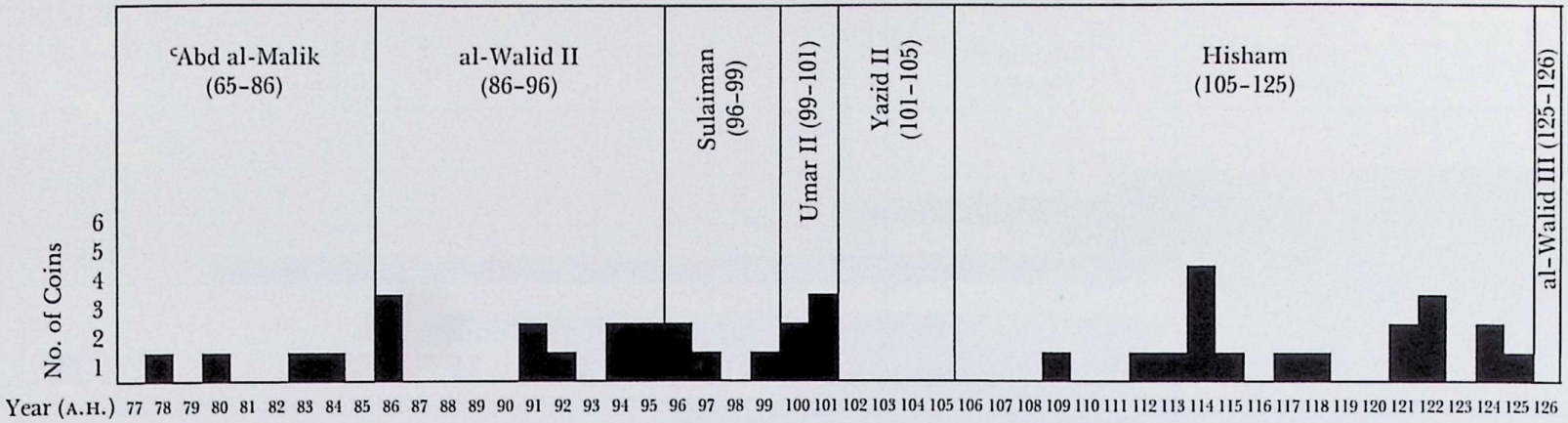


Figure 80. The El-Lajjun Hoard (I1).

into this category, depending on the reports of dealers and others who saw at least some portion of the coins before their dispersal. Far more important for our purposes are those hoards for which we have complete records, especially of the number of dinars of each date. These finds, drawn together here for the first time, enable us to fix the historical context with remarkable specificity. The hoards are listed by country in the chronological order of their discovery. The numbers assigned to them in the inventory are also used to identify the individual hoards in the discussion that follows.

Israel

I 1. 1933. *El-Lajjun* (Labor camp, near Jenin). 41 dinars, A.H. 78–125. Found in a clay pot (not recovered) by prisoners digging up stones. 41 coins were confiscated by the police, November 1933. Only a quarter of the hoard was recovered (thus, the total before dispersion was ca. 164 coins). Mayer 1935: 100–102. Not photographed. Figure 80.

I 2. Around 1936–1938. *Khirbet Minyeh* (13.5 km. north of Tiberias). 3 dinars (2 from A.H. 98, 1 from A.H. 116), found in two places during excavations. Probably stray loses. Schneider 1952: 29–30.

I 3. Around 1951. 29 Byzantine *solidi*, from Phocas (A.D. 602–610) to Constantine IV (A.D. 668–685). Found in lamp; confiscated by the police. Dajani 1951: 41–43, Plate XV.

I 4. 1960 (December 29). *Orif* (Nablus District). 19 dinars, A.H. 77–124. Found by children in pottery vase; dispersed among villagers, seized by police from 6 local inhabitants and turned over to the Jordanian Department of Antiquities on July 31, 1961. Maʿa-yeh 1962: 76–79, Plate XVII. Figure 81.

I 5. 1982 (June 1). *Capernaum*. 282 dinars, A.H. 77–126. Found during archaeological excavations in an Early Arab (originally Byzantine) house, hidden

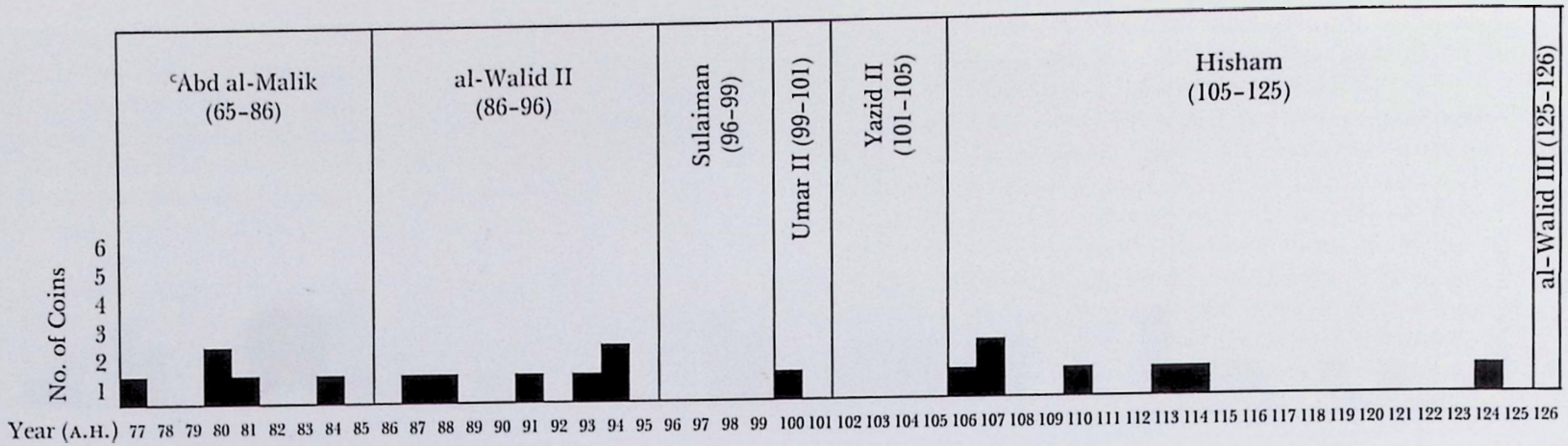


Figure 81. The Orif Hoard (I4).

beneath a large paving stone. No container noted. Figure 79.

Syria

S 1. 1955 (November 1). *Damascus* (near the Bimuristan of Nurriddin). 546 dinars, A.H. 78–103. Found at a construction site in a clay urn (probably later stolen); sherds purportedly recovered from the urn apparently unrelated. Coins gradually recovered and placed in National Museum; entire hoard stolen in 1959 and melted down. El-Osh 1954/55: 21–28. Figure 82.

S 2. 1961. *Damascus*(?). An unreported hoard (called the "Trésor de Damas") that included a dinar of A.H. 97 with a Hebrew sgraffito, and a "Maʿdin Amir . . ." specimen purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

S 3. 1964 (December 18). *Damascus* (Port Said Garage, on street leading from Kafr Susa to Mezza). 136 dinars, A.H. 79–125. Found by workmen digging a pit in a courtyard, at a depth of 1.5 m., apparently not in a container; sold to various goldsmiths. Police confiscated all the coins and turned them over to the Ministry of Antiquities and Museums. Toueir 1966: 83–99, 7 plates. Figure 84.

S 4. 1974. *Between Homs and Maʿara.* About 500 dinars, all Umayyad (including one dated A.H. 77). Dispersed in commerce. *Coin Hoards* I: 72.

S 5. 1975 (February). *Maʿara.* 150 Umayyad dinars, including A.H. 77, "Ifriqiyah" dated A.H. 101, 104, 105, and 108, "al-Andalus" dated A.H. 120. The latter two types in Shamma Collection; remainder dispersed in commerce. *Coin Hoards* II: 97.

S 6. 1975. *Al-Rastan.* Several hundred Umayyad dinars. Dispersed in commerce. *Coin Hoards* II: 97.

S 7. 1976 (or earlier). *Talmis* (Tarmis?). About 500 Umayyad

Figure 82. The Damascus Stolen Hoard (S1).

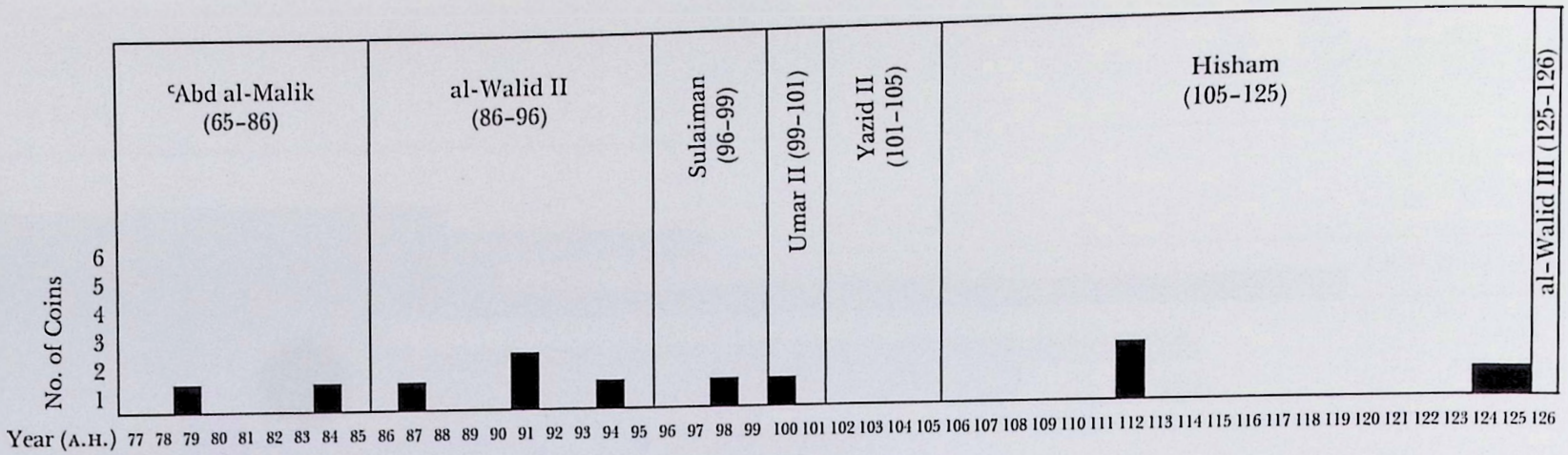


Figure 83. The Amman Hoard (J1).

dinars. Dispersed in commerce. *Coin Hoards* III: 260.

S 8. 1978. *Near Hama.* About 1,200 dinars, Umayyad and Abbasid. 2 dated A.H. 77, 1 "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." dated A.H. 92. *Coin Hoards* IV: 77.

S 9. Around 1980. *North of Damascus.* Byzantine *solidi.* Around A.D. 685–695. Metcalf 1980: 87–108.

Jordan

J 1. Around 1951. *Amman.* 12 Umayyad dinars, 44 Abbasid dinars. Umayyad specimens dated A.H. 79–125 (79, 84, 87, 91 [×2], 94, 98, 100, 112 [×2], 124, 125). Abbasid specimens dated A.H. 139–171. Found in broken pot by workers excavating foundations for shops in main city square. Kirkbride 1951: 17–19, Plate V. Figure 83.

J 2. 1981. *Pella.* 5 Umayyad dinars. Found in association with human skeletons, victims of an earthquake of A.D. 746: 4 with body of young man dated A.H. 96, 97, 106, and 117; 1 with another body, dated A.H. 94, found with dirhams of A.H. 97 and 112. Smith and McNicoll 1983: 51, 68; McNicoll et al. 1982: pl. 58.

J 3. 1982. *Pella.* 6 Umayyad dinars. Found in same excavations as J 2. Dated A.H. 91, 94 (×2), 110, 112, and 122.

Saudi Arabia

SA 1. (Before 1977). *Al-Wajh* (northern Hijaz). "Post-reform" Umayyad dinars found buried in earthen pot. Now in ᶜAli Tadil Collection, Jehhad. Hakiem 1977: 18.

SA 2. *Medina.* Umayyad dinars discovered during construction work in the *sharshua* (house for washing the

dead), south of the Great Mosque. Now property of Sheikh Hamid Nuzhat. Hakiem 1977: 17.

Iraq

IQ 1. 1970. *Abu Saʿida.* 15 dinars, A.H. 77–103. Salman 1972: 113–20.

China

C 1. 1964 (April). *Hsi-an, Shensi Province* (ancient Ch'ang-an). 3 dinars (A.H. 83, 100, and 129). Found in tomb during excavations. Hsia Nai 1955: 430–33; illustrated (in English: Goodrich 1966: 124).

HOARD TYPES

Philip Grierson has provided a convenient set of categories for the classification and interpretation of hoards (1975: 128–38):

1. accidental loses
2. emergency hoards
   a. official hoards, not privately owned, "a military chest or the receipts of a tax or customs collector" (Grierson 1975: 132)
   b. refugee hoards, not found at the owner's place of residence
   c. pirate or robber hoards
3. savings hoards
4. abandoned hoards, found in graves, wells, etc., and placed there for "good luck"

Grierson notes these significant differences between emergency hoards and savings hoards: the latter are more selective, that is, contain not only high value (as opposed to low value) coins, but also "better specimens of such coins, unworn ones if possible, rather than inferior ones" (1975: 155). Furthermore, savings hoards are of less value than emergency hoards in reflecting "the pattern of certain levels of denominations in the circulation medium at the moment of burial," since the latter are suddenly withdrawn from circulation whereas the former are gradually collected and reflect the resources of the owner from year to year and not the output of the mint (Grierson 1975: 128).

Grierson also points out that hoards are seldom found on town sites since constant construction and reconstruction generally results in their early discovery: "It is only when the occupation of a site has been brought to a sudden and catastrophic end that we can hope to learn much from it about higher denominations in use" (1975: 138).

At present there is insufficient information about several of the hoards in the inventory to allow any attempt at categorization (S 2, S 4, S 5, S 6, S 7, S 8, SA 1, SA 2). The remarkable Chinese hoard (C 1) is clearly an "abandoned hoard," most useful in providing an example of the widespread circulation of the Umayyad dinar. Hoard I 2, from Khirbet Minyeh, really consists of two accidental loses on the floors of the Umayyad palace there. J 2 is a remarkable example of coins that were on the persons of earthquake victims at the moment of death. All the other hoards listed seem to be either emergency hoards or savings hoards, or combinations of the two. The two Byzantine hoards (I 3 and S 9) are especially interesting since they seem to have been buried just at the time when ʿAbd al-Malik had launched most vigorously into his reforms. We can regard them as belonging to Christians or Jews who hid them rather than turning them over to the Muslim authorities, to be melted down and restruck as reformed dinars. The owners apparently entertained the false hope that the Arab domination was temporary and that their Byzantine gold would one day again be the coin of the realm.

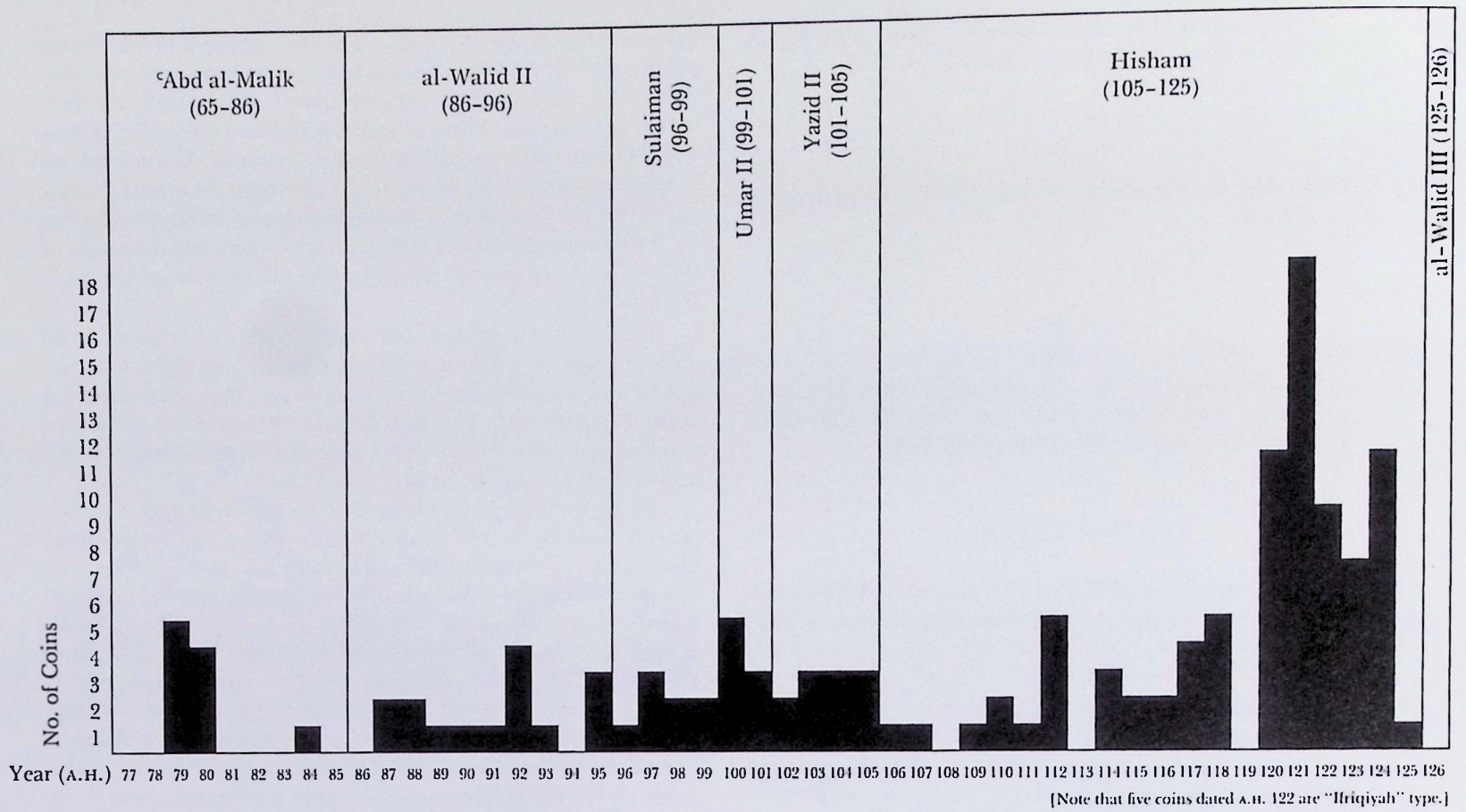


Figure 84. The Damascus–Port Said Garage Hoard (S3).

THE HOARDS AND THE HISTORY OF THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE

The remaining hoards in the inventory are all well documented. What is particularly important is that we know the dates of the earliest and the latest coins in each case. Several important facts emerge:

1. The published Umayyad dinar hoards all contain a wide span of minting dates, beginning without exception during the first three years of the monetary reform (A.H. 77–

79) and distributed throughout the intervening years until the date of burial.

2. Where information or photographs are available, we can see that the earliest specimens in the Umayyad hoards are typically not any more worn than the later ones, even when the minting dates span half a century. There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon: (a) these are primarily savings hoards, the owners adding newly-minted dinars year by year as they were financially able to do so; or (b) the dinars were not circulated individually but rather were kept in leather or cloth pouches and circulated by total pouch weight rather than by count, a system that would protect them from wear. Neither explanation is entirely satisfactory: it is unlikely that so many families would begin savings hoards in precisely the same years and add to them over a period of more than one generation; further, the hoards display certain patterns in the distribution of mint years that more likely reflect the number minted in a given year than the relative prosperity of the hoarders during those years (see below). On the other hand, the hoards are often found in clay jars, not pouches of leather or cloth. The Capernaum hoard is unusual in that there was no pottery container, but neither was there any trace of leather or cloth.

3. Two of the hoards (S 1 and S 3; figs. 82, 84) exhibit some common characteristics of emergency hoards. In particular, both contain a high percentage of specimens from the years immediately prior to burial. This suggests that the owners of these hoards, sensing an imminent catastrophe, quickly gathered together as much gold as possible. Normally in such a case, one would expect a preponderance of later dates. Both these hoards are from Damascus, the probable site of the mint. If we accept the theory that dinars were protected from wear during circulation, we might conclude that all the hoards were emergency hoards and that the dinars in circulation in Palestine at the end of the Umayyad period were mostly of older minting dates.

4. In this regard the Capernaum hoard (I 5; fig. 79) displays a curious reversal of the usual emergency pattern. Over two-thirds of the coins in the hoard are dated between A.H. 77 and 101. There is a decided decline in the number of specimens per year after that. Again, the older specimens are no more worn than the later ones. We might speculate that the family owning the hoard had reached the peak of its prosperity during the reign of Caliph ʿUmar II (A.H. 99–101). But it is more likely that dinars from a full range of dates were in circulation in Palestine in the mid-8th century A.D., with a preponderance from the years before the reign of Hisham. A comparison with S 3 further suggests that Hisham's dinars were circulated in a rather restricted fashion around the capital city. This may account for the general rarity of dinars from his reign, but the preponderance of them in S 3.

5. A comparison of figures 79–85 shows that two periods seem to have been characterized by increased minting activity: the middle years of ʿAbd al-Malik (A.H. 78–80) and the reign of Sulaiman (A.H. 96–99). This phenomenon is particularly striking in the two largest hoards: I 5 (Capernaum) and S 1 (Damascus). If, as suggested above, the concentration of dinars dated A.H. 120–124 in hoard S 3 is the result of the limited circulation of Hisham's dinars in areas close to Damascus, the same phenomenon is apparent in this hoard as well.

The explanation for this may be found in certain historical and economic developments. ʿAbd al-Malik was able to consolidate the immense empire that the Arabs had built up during a relatively brief three-quarters of a century. The conquests tore great treasures from the hands of the Byzantines and the Persians. The latter, whose currency was exclusively silver, had accumulated huge gold reserves in the form of bullion, jewelry, etc. Centuries of accumulated treasure from Syria and Egypt also came into circulation. In addition, the mines of Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia were reopened to new exploitation (Dunlop 1957: 30; Kent and Painter 1977: 121). The caliph turned this massive bounty into gold coins that proclaimed the religious and cultural

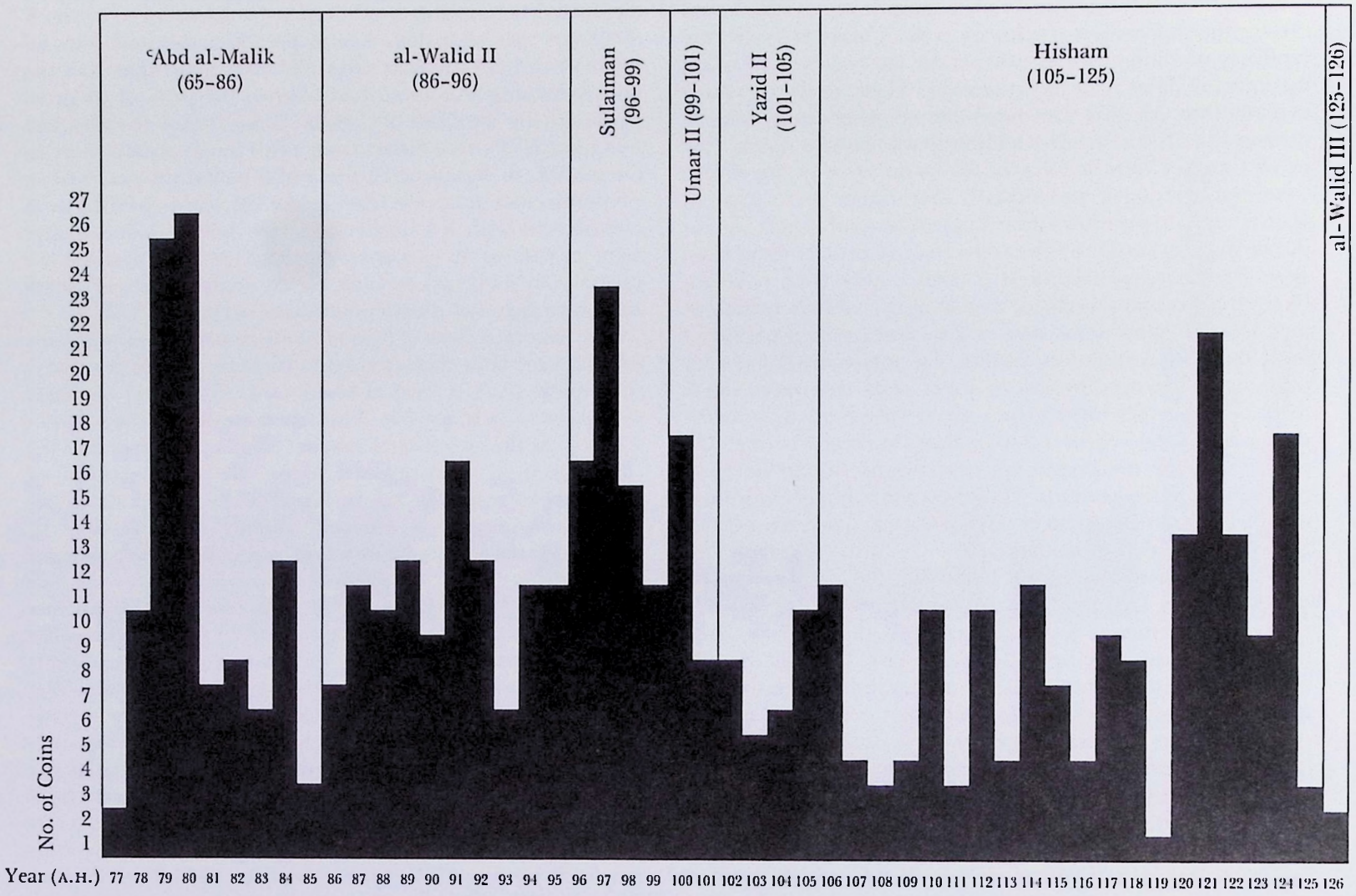


Figure 85. Hoards S3, I1, I4, I5, and J1 combined (490 coins).

victory of Islam. These coins were in turn used to pay pensions to the conquering soldiers and aristocracy (Hitti 1960: 172; cf. Burnett 1977: 5) and to finance great building projects such as the Dome of the Rock. The hoards testify to this extensive minting activity, particularly in the years A.H. 78–80. A comparison of the Capernaum hoard and S 1 reveals a strikingly similar pattern: very limited activity in A.H. 77, great activity during A.H. 78–80, gradually diminishing toward the end of ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate.

Hoards S 1, I 1, S 3, and I 5 (Capernaum) all suggest a second period of increased activity, falling approximately in the caliphate of Sulaiman (A.H. 96–99). A plausible historical explanation is readily available for this phenomenon as well: the conquest of Spain. The city of Seville fell on June 30, A.D. 713. The caliph, al-Walid I, sent a letter of recall to the conquering general, Musa, which did not reach him until fifteen months later. Musa returned to Palestine by land, bringing with him enormous treasures and thousands of slaves. He paused at Tiberias, a few miles from Capernaum, where he received an order from Sulaiman (heir of the ailing al-Walid) to wait until the latter had died before proceeding to Damascus. Musa, however, moved ahead, arriving in February, A.D. 715. It is unclear whether he was received by Sulaiman or by al-Walid, but in either case the procession of the Spanish booty into the Arab capital was immensely impressive. "If any single episode can exemplify the zenith of Umayyad glory, it is this" (Hitti 1960: 216–27; cf. Hitti 1957: 466). We may presume that this treasure, along with that constantly arriving from the continuing conquests in the East, was the source of another great mintage of dinars. These, in turn, were paid out in pensions and for building projects such as the construction of the city of Ramla, where Sulaiman established his residence. The coins eventually came into the hands of the owners of hoards such as S 1, S 3, and I 5. We may even speculate that some of the gold that passed directly through Capernaum with Musa's procession from Tiberias to Damascus returned there again in the form of dinars, eventually to be hidden beneath the stone floor in Area A.

6. The most significant pattern that becomes apparent in comparing the Umayyad hoards is that the latest coins in hoards S 3, I 1, I 4, and I 5 all date between A.H. 124 and 126. Once this pattern is established, it is possible to regard the Umayyad portion of the Amman hoard (J 1) to be a secondary hoard that had later been incorporated into a hoard from the Abbasid period. This hoard exhibits a large gap in dates between the last Umayyad dinar (A.H. 125) and the first Abbasid one (A.H. 139), further substantiating this conclusion. Thus we have five Umayyad dinar hoards, all from a relatively limited geographical area, with many similar characteristics—the most significant of which is a common period of termination, that is, A.H. 124–126.[2]

THE PALESTINIAN DINAR HOARDS AND THE FALL OF THE UMAYYADS

When Hisham died in February, A.D. 743 (A.H. 125), Syria and the Umayyad dynasty quickly fell into anarchy. In the chaotic months that followed, Palestine often found itself in the eye of the storm, partly from the fact that the region

[2] If the Umayyad portion of the Amman hoard is indeed secondary, it may have been transported to Amman from elsewhere. Figure 85 combines all this group of five hoards. The large number of specimens from A.H. 120–124 is almost all from the Damascus "Port Said Garage" hoard (S 3). Five of the specimens from this hoard, all dated A.H. 122, bear the word "Ifrikiyah" (Africa). I have already suggested that coins dated from this period circulated primarily around Damascus itself. Only eight specimens from these years are found in all the other hoards combined. Die counts would furnish more accurate information on mintage than mere mint-year counts; nevertheless, certain patterns seem obvious. Judging from this group of very similar hoards, the rarest mint-years are A.H. 77, 85 (cf. S 1, fig. 82), 103–104, 107–109, and most of the years from A.H. 111 to the end of Hisham's reign.

was a pressure point in a very old Arab feud between the Qaysites (who traced themselves to North Arabia) and the Yemenites (who were of South Arabian origin). The conflict could be found "in the capital as well as the provinces, on the banks of the Indus, the shores of Sicily, and the borders of the Sahara" (Hitti 1960: 218). In A.D. 743, Walid II, with Qaysite backing, marched from his headquarters in Arrack, district of Jordan, where he had been waiting for his uncle Hisham to die. He raised the pay of the soldiers and passed out large amounts of money to the populace, to gain their favor. He ruthlessly drove his uncle's relatives and friends from the palace, and participated in the assassination of several of them (Syed 1899: 159–60). In addition, he was "a libertine, a drunkard, a blasphemer, and a cynic" (Glubb 1969: 88). According to Arab historians, he showed arrogant disrespect for the Koran and was addicted to bathing in wine (Hitti 1960: 227).

The Yemenites, who held the majority among the Arabs of Syria, rose in revolt under the leadership of Yazid II, son of Walid I and grandson of ʿAbd al-Malik. Joined by the people of the capital, the rebels trapped Walid in his palace, cut off his head and paraded it through the streets, impaled on a lance. This occurred in April A.D. 744 (A.H. 126), seventeen months after the beginning of his reign. Yazid III lived only six months longer (until October, A.D. 744/A.H. 127), spending much of this time trying to put down a Qaysite revolt in Palestine and Hims (Syed 1899: 165). In September A.D. 744/A.H. 127, he was replaced by his brother, Ibrahim, who in turn lasted only two months and ten days. What amounted to a civil war continued to rage. Merwan, governor of Armenia and a Qaysite partisan, marched toward Damascus, defeating Ibrahim's Yemenite army at the township of ʿAin ul-Jar, between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon on the road from Baalbek to Damascus. Ibrahim murdered Walid's sons and fled the capital. Walid's partisans, in turn, slaughtered Ibrahim's followers, exhumed the body of his brother Yazid III, and hanged it on a city gate. Damascus, reduced to total anarchy, received Merwan and proclaimed him caliph (23 November A.D. 744/A.H. 127; Syed 1899: 166–67).

Thus Merwan became the fourth man to attempt to hold onto the caliphate within a single year—A.D. 744/A.H. 126–127. Still, the upheaval continued. Hims and Palestine again revolted and Merwan responded with great force and violence. Meanwhile, the first of the Abbasids proclaimed himself caliph in al-Iraq (30 October A.D. 749) and before the year was out the Abbasid general Abdullah had pursued Merwan through Palestine and into Egypt, where he was assassinated. On 25 June A.D. 750, Abdullah lured 80 surviving Umayyads to a banquet at Abu Futrus (ancient Antipatris) and slaughtered them there. The glory and power of Syria had departed.

The history of this turbulent period has been recounted in some detail since it furnishes an obvious occasion for the hiding of treasure. It is not possible to pinpoint the precise dates of burial of the group of Umayyad hoards, though the Capernaum hoard could not have been buried before A.H. 126/A.D. 743–744; the Amman, el-Lajjun, and Damascus (Port Said Garage) hoards before A.H. 125/A.D. 742–743; or the Orif hoard before A.H. 124/A.D. 741–742. It is likely that all five were deposited during the time of anarchy beginning in A.D. 744. This seems especially likely in the case of the Capernaum hoard. We have seen how often Palestine was the scene of revolt, civil war, and retaliation during that period.

Within this general historical picture we are now able to examine the specific situation at Capernaum during the period A.D. 744–746 that led to the depositing of the hoard and that could aid in explaining why the site lay abandoned for over a thousand years.

CAPERNAUM AND THE UMAYYAD DYNASTY

It may seem strange at first that such a large treasure should be found at a site like Capernaum—a Christian or

Jewish/Christian agricultural, industrial, and fishing town known for centuries only for its synagogue and sites of Christian pilgrimage. The explanation lies in general in the nature of the Arab occupation of Syro-Palestine, and in particular in the proximity of Capernaum to the Umayyad palace at Khirbet Minyeh.

Syria and Lebanon continued to be primarily Christian in faith and Syriac in language for several hundred years after the Arab Conquest (Hitti 1960: 231–32). The conquerors did not move into the cities, where the culture was alien to them. Rather, they kept somewhat apart by occupying the large country villas that had been abandoned by their original aristocratic Byzantine owners. Dozens of these villas have been subjected to archaeological investigation: some fifty have been identified and twice that number probably exist. Most of them include a large residence with monumental gate, reception hall, mosque, bath, and service buildings. Taken together, these installations can be seen as the successors to the Roman villas of earlier centuries, serving as centers for large agricultural estates. Among the best known of these agricultural palaces are Qusayr Amrah, Khirbet Mefjer, Jaba Says, Qasr el-Hayr West, Qasr el-Hayr East, Mshatta, and, most significantly, Khirbet Minyeh, some 3.5 km. southwest of Capernaum.

Oleg Grabar suggests that these large estates were presented by the caliphs to members of their families and to important supporters, "and thus transformed the countryside (or part of it) into latifundia owned by the new Muslim aristocracy" (1973: 32–33). The new owners remodeled the Byzantine villas along Arab, Islamic lines, and from these elaborate palaces they dominated the countryside and the nearby towns. Archaeology has dated these establishments precisely between A.D. 687 and 750, that is, from the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik to the fall of the Umayyads. With few exceptions, they were abandoned after A.D. 750, their economic and cultural usefulness brought to an end by the shift of power to the Abbasid East.

Thus Khirbet Minyeh, which dominated the fertile plain of Kinneret, a rich agricultural area from time immemorial, no doubt held adjacent Capernaum within its sphere of influence. In doing so it tied the old town's fortunes to its own: Capernaum prospered when Khirbet Minyeh prospered, and faded when Khirbet Minyeh was abandoned. The palace at Khirbet Minyeh has been extensively excavated and interpreted (Schneider 1952: 23–45; Grabar et al. 1960: 241), indicating that it was not simply a pleasure palace built at the whim of a single caliph, but an economically viable estate. Dinars discovered in the excavations there date from the reigns of Sulaiman and Hisham (Schneider 1952: 29–30) and may be regarded as a part of the same economic system which produced the Capernaum hoard.

The latest dinar in the Capernaum hoard is dated A.H. 126, which means that the hoard could not have been buried before A.D. 744. It may be possible, in this case, to pinpoint the date even more precisely. According to ancient historians (e.g., Cedrenus and Theophanes), a disastrous earthquake shook the Jordan Valley in A.D. 746, severely damaging the Temple Mount, destroying Khirbet Mefjer, damaging Jerash, and, significantly, smashing Tiberias, some 19 km. from Capernaum (Kallner-Amiran 1950: 226). Archaeological evidence for this destruction has been found at Tiberias (Dothan 1978: 1183–84).

The most dramatic evidence comes from the excavations at Pella of the Decapolis, where human and animal skeletons were found on the floors of Umayyad buildings destroyed during this earthquake. One room there yielded skeletons of seven camels, a calf, a donkey, and two humans. One human was found crouched near an entrance, along with a dagger, a pruning-hook, a gold earring, a dinar dated A.H. 94, and three silver dirhams, two of which were dated A.H. 97 and 112 (Smith and McNicoll 1983: 51). Another room yielded a human skeleton with four dinars (Smith and McNicoll 1983: 51).

Evidently both history and nature conspired against Capernaum during the years A.D. 744–746. First, the civil

chaos following the death of Hisham reached out into Palestine, particularly involving such aristocratic estates as Khirbet Minyeh, whose master could not have avoided being on the wrong side of the conflict at some point. Under the dangerous circumstances, the owner of the hoard deposited his treasure. In the very midst of this conflict, the earthquake played havoc up and down the entire Jordan Valley. If the hoard's owner was not killed in the succession conflict, or destroyed along with his town in the earthquake, he may have fallen, or at least been prevented from returning for his fortune, as first Merwan raged through the countryside putting down the revolt, and then the Abbasid Abdullah struck down the last vestiges of Umayyad power.

When the next settlers of Capernaum converted the structures, such as Building A, into modest apartments and stables, they did not realize that in doing so they were burying a treasure of value beyond their wildest fantasies even deeper within the earth.

THE "MINE OF THE COMMANDER OF THE BELIEVERS" AND THE DAMASCUS MINT

One coin among the 282 dinars in the Capernaum hoard bears a reverse inscription different from all the rest (fig. 86). To the usual sentence in the field is added the phrase: "Mine of the Commander of the Believers in the Hijaz" (معدن امير المؤمنين بالحجاز). Such dinars are extremely rare, there being only twelve known specimens of two types and four different dates. The specimen in the Capernaum hoard and three other "regular" dinars in the hoard provide important new evidence regarding the origin of these mysterious coins.

One group of "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." coins carries dates early in the tenth decade after the Hijrah, and bears the phrase "Mine of the Commander of the Believers" on the obverse, immediately after the usual profession of faith. The phrase "in the Hijaz" is missing. The other group, to which

Fig. 86. Coin 226 (Reg. no. 32).

Capernaum dinar no. 226 (fig. 86) belongs, are all dated A.H. 105 and bear the complete phrase noted above on the reverse, including the words "in the Hijaz" (see fig. 86).

It is usually assumed that this inscription refers to a mint located in Arabia. But the Capernaum hoard furnishes new evidence that George C. Miles was correct in assigning these coins to the mint at Damascus. A complete inventory of "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." coins is presented below, with comments relating to the question of origin:

Type A

1. A.H. 91. Bibliothèque Nationale 1971.449 × Bustros, Beirut. 4.2279 gr. 19 mm. Miles 1972: 264, fig. 1. In Cabinet des Medailles, Paris. Cast in American Numismatic Society. The phrase "Mine of the Commander of the Believers" appears on the obverse, following the phrase "There is no god but God, who has no associate." The reverse of this coin is from the same die as a "regular" dinar dated A.H. 91 in the American Numismatic Society Collection (Miles 1972: 265, fig. 2), suggesting that both the "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." and the "regular" coins of A.H. 91 were

struck at one and the same mint. To Miles's example we can now add coin no. 124 (fig. 88.124) from the Capernaum hoard—a "regular" issue of A.H. 91 that also shares the same reverse die.

2. A.H. 91. In the collection of Samir Shamma. Hakiem 1977: 159, pl. X: 88.

3. A.H. 92. In the collection of Samir Shamma. This and the previous coin share the same obverse dies. Both coins were seen by Michael Bates, of the American Numismatic Society, in 1977.

4. A.H. 95. Reportedly seen in Damascus by Samir Shamma.

These four coins all fall within the reign of al-Walid I (A.H. 86-96). The pattern of die links is clear. Two "regular" issues of A.H. 91 (American Numismatic Society and Capernaum fig. 88.124) have the same reverse dies as the two known specimens of the A.H. 91 "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." dinar (nos. 1, 2 in this inventory). In turn, the one known "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." specimen dated A.H. 92 (no. 3, above) shares an obverse die with no. 2, above. That both the "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." and the "regular" issues were struck at the same mint thus seems certain.

Type B

5. A.H. 105. American Numismatic Society × E. T. Newell, 1929. 20 mm. 4.16 gr. Miles 1950: 230-31, pl. 4: 66. Also in Miles 1972: 265, fig. 3.

6-9. A.H. 105. Four specimens representing two obverse and two reverse dies. Probably formerly in the Princesse Ismail Collection, catalogued in Casanova 1896: 7 (nos. 162-63), 167 (nos. 3976-77); discussion, iv-vi. Now in Cairo. Illustrated in Fahmy 1965: pl. 5: 128-31.

Fig. 87. Coins 227 (Reg. no. 106) obverse and 228 (Reg. no. 169) obverse.

10. A.H. 105. Curiel Damas Trésor, 1961; presumably now in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

11. A.H. 105. Collection of Samir Shamma. Hakiem 1977: 160, pl. XI: 93.

12. A.H. 105. Capernaum gold hoard, no. 226 (fig. 88.226; Reg. No. 32).

Of great significance is the fact that coin 5 (above, the American Numismatic Society specimen), coins 7 and 9 (nos. 129 and 131 in Fahmy 1965), coin 11 (Shamma Col.), and Capernaum coin 88.226 are all struck from the same obverse die. Furthermore, Miles notes a "regular" dinar in the American Numismatic Society collection dated A.H. 105, which is "probably identical with the obverse dies of the American Numismatic Society specimen" (of "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." type; 1972: 267, fig. 4). The author has personally inspected the two coins and confirms that they are indeed from the same obverse die. The Capernaum hoard includes six specimens of the "regular" issue of A.H. 105, in addition to the "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." coin (no. 12, above): fig. 88.222, 223, 224, 225, 227, and 228. Two of these "regular" issues (figs. 88.227 and 228; see fig. 87) are struck from the same, or an almost identical, obverse die, the same die noted in the following "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." coins: nos. 5 (American Numismatic Society), 7

and 9 (Cairo), 11 (Shamma), and 12 (Capernaum). Thus, we have eight coins, five of the "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." type and three of the "regular" type, that show every indication of having been struck at the same mint, that is, the caliph's mint for gold dinars at Damascus.

Michael Bates (1979b) conducted an extensive study of the so-called "secret points" on Umayyad dinars and dirhams, revealing that the dinars seem to have come from only one mint, Damascus, and that the points were most likely designed to distinguish between "administrative agencies" rather than mints. This is especially clear in the case of dinars dated A.H. 98–105, a fact that further strengthens the case for regarding the "Maᶜdin Amir . . ." coins as from the Damascus mint.

Thus, the phrase "Mine of the Commander of the Believers" should not be taken to mean "Mint of the Commander of the Believers." Why the caliph should from time to time have issued these rare coins, which seem to make reference to caliphate itself, remains an intriguing question. Perhaps such coins were reserved for personal presentation by the caliph to those who had served him in some special way. The inscription may even have carried some religious significance, since it is run together, indiscriminately, with the professions of faith in the field of the coins. The reference to the Hijaz on the coins of A.H. 105 may mark them as special "souvenirs," not only because they were presented by the caliph, but because the gold from which they were struck originated in the land of the Prophet.[3]

[3] Special thanks are due to Southwest Missouri State University, the American Numismatic Society, and Dr. Michael Bates, for valuable assistance in the preparation of this report.

Figure 88. Catalogue of Gold Coins.
(by Ariel Berman)

No.	Reg. No.	Year (A.H.)	Size (mm)	Weight (gr)	No.	Reg. No.	Year (A.H.)	Size (mm)	Weight (gr)	No.	Reg. No.	Year (A.H.)	Size (mm)	Weight (gr)
1.	23	77	18	4.141	18.	278	79	19	4.181	35.	206	80	20	4.154
2.	196	78	19	4.071	19.	75	79	21	4.196	36.	195	80	19	4.161
3.	197	78	19	4.171	20.	127	79	19	4.201	37.	209	80	19	4.162
4.	145	78	19	4.181	21.	80	79	20	4.203	38.	133	80	19	4.165
5.	156	78	19	4.188	22.	93	79	20	4.204	39.	265	80	19	4.166
6.	85	78	19	4.192	23.	260	79	20	4.206	40.	266	80	20	4.186
7.	150	78	19	4.203	24.	148	79	20	4.213	41.	146	80	19	4.201
8.	8	78	20	4.225	25.	160	79	19	4.229	42.	218	80	19	4.206
9.	9	78	20	4.226	26.	191	79	19	4.236	43.	249	80	19	4.209
10.	20	78	19	4.277	27.	199	79	19	4.241	44.	176	80	19	4.218
11.	38	79	20	4.117	28.	4	79	20	4.267	45.	33	80	19	4.224
12.	72	79	20	4.142	29.	179	79	19	4.291	46.	19	80	20	4.226
13.	161	79	19	4.143	30.	124	80	19	4.083	47.	177	80	19	4.228
14.	128	79	19	4.154	31.	5	80	19	4.108	48.	73	80	20	4.270
15.	42	79	20	4.164	32.	22	80	19	4.140	49.	60	81	19	4.169
16.	216	79	18	4.169	33.	275	80	18	4.144	50.	147	81	19	4.196
17.	252	79	19	4.175	34.	273	80	19	4.153	51.	159	81	19	4.237

Note: Photographs of these coins appear on pp. 170–79, where they are shown in order by registration number.

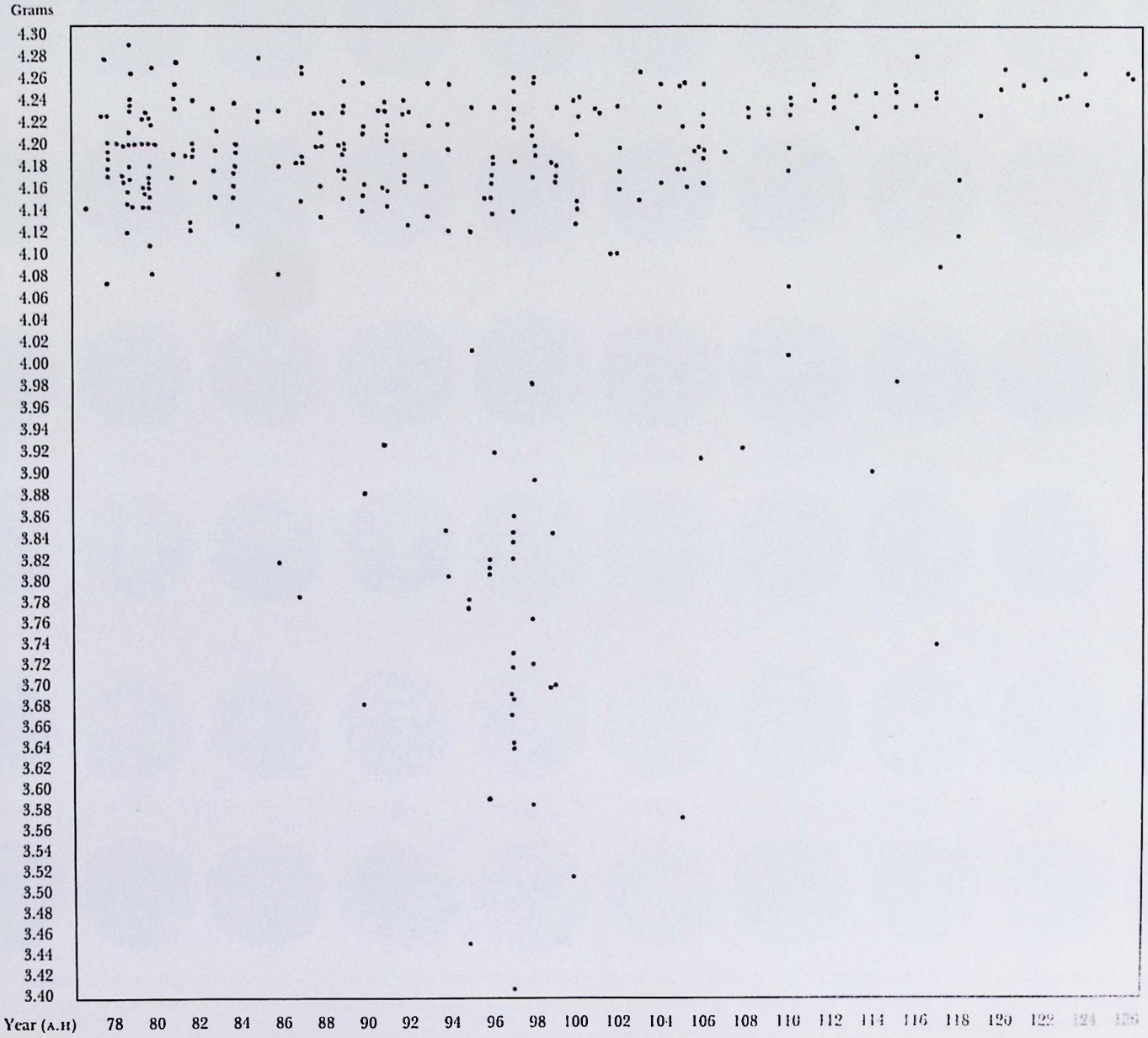
Figure 88, continued

No.	Reg. No.	Year (A.H.)	Size (mm)	Weight (gr)	No.	Reg. No.	Year (A.H.)	Size (mm)	Weight (gr)	No.	Reg. No.	Year (A.H.)	Size (mm)	Weight (gr)
52.	174	81	19	4.243	90.	173	88	19	4.135	128.	281	92	19	4.172
53.	112	81	18	4.257	91.	119	88	19	4.161	129.	242	92	20	4.196
54.	55	81	19	4.274	92.	27	88	19	4.195	130.	44	92	20	4.229
55.	41	82	18	4.125	93.	222	88	19	4.206	131.	262	92	20	4.237
56.	269	82	18	4.125	94.	276	88	19	4.212	132.	232	92	19	4.241
57.	164	82	18	4.166	95.	226	88	20	4.230	133.	28	93	20	4.132
58.	202	82	18	4.188	96.	235	88	20	4.233	134.	279	93	20	4.161
59.	236	82	18	4.194	97.	214	89	19	4.154	135.	17	93	20	4.214
60.	257	82	21	4.197	98.	201	89	20	4.168	136.	192	93	20	4.257
61.	240	82	19	4.203	99.	167	89	19	4.175	137.	47	94	20	3.802
62.	165	82	19	4.241	100.	96	89	19	4.176	138.	220	94	19	3.840
63.	78	83	20	4.150	101.	138	89	20	4.191	139.	140	94	19	4.124
64.	37	83	18	4.175	102.	40	89	20	4.194	140.	43	94	20	4.196
65.	122	83	19	4.192	103.	118	89	19	4.197	141.	189	94	20	4.222
66.	30	83	19	4.211	104.	152	89	20	4.201	142.	211	94	20	4.262
67.	238	83	19	4.235	105.	135	89	20	4.230	143.	58	95	19	3.458
68.	62	84	19	4.124	106.	171	89	20	4.238	144.	244	95	19	3.776
69.	210	84	19	4.152	107.	66	89	19	4.257	145.	200	95	20	3.780
70.	186	84	19	4.163	108.	92	90	19	3.680	146.	253	95	20	4.017
71.	134	84	19	4.175	109.	130	90	19	3.877	147.	224	95	20	4.126
72.	91	84	19	4.183	110.	141	90	19	4.142	148.	39	95	20	4.235
73.	158	84	20	4.197	111.	86	90	20	4.153	149.	263	96	19	4.591
74.	166	84	19	4.205	112.	217	90	19	4.166	150.	237	96	19	3.805
75.	153	84	19	4.238	113.	270	90	20	4.214	151.	190	96	19	3.809
76.	219	85	19	4.226	114.	129	90	20	4.218	152.	48	96	20	3.815
77.	205	85	19	4.230	115.	188	90	19	4.257	153.	34	96	20	3.917
78.	35	85	19	4.282	116.	109	91	19	3.920	154.	67	96	20	4.134
79.	228	86	19	3.818	117.	61	91	19	4.144	155.	125	96	20	4.150
80.	261	86	19	4.085	118.	142	91	19	4.159	156.	246	96	20	4.153
81.	168	86	19	4.181	119.	83	91	19	4.163	157.	79	96	19	4.165
82.	247	86	19	4.234	120.	94	91	19	4.207	158.	271	96	21	4.175
83.	57	87	19	3.782	121.	180	91	20	4.210	159.	26	96	20	4.184
84.	76	87	19	4.148	122.	36	91	19	4.219	160.	184	96	20	4.189
85.	3	87	20	4.176	123.	81	91	19	4.231	161.	46	96	20	4.232
86.	84	87	20	4.178	124.	144	91	20	4.235	162.	243	97	19	3.403
87.	18	87	19	4.186	125.	264	91	20	4.241	163.	182	97	19	3.639
88.	69	87	20	4.268	126.	208	92	19	4.126	164.	187	97	19	3.644
89.	212	87	20	4.272	127.	65	92	18	4.168	165.	274	97	19	3.670

Figure 88, continued

No.	Reg. No.	Year (A.H.)	Size (mm)	Weight (gr)
166.	131	97	19	3.689
167.	241	97	19	3.696
168.	52	97	20	3.710
169.	162	97	20	3.719
170.	99	97	20	3.816
171.	277	97	19	3.837
172.	185	97	20	3.841
173.	59	97	20	3.856
174.	259	97	19	4.145
175.	2	97	20	4.187
176.	258	97	20	4.223
177.	203	97	20	4.225
178.	116	97	19	4.234
179.	110	97	20	4.251
180.	207	97	21	4.264
181.	172	98	19	3.587
182.	12	98	19	3.719
183.	126	98	19	3.761
184.	139	98	19	3.891
185.	215	98	20	3.982
186.	170	98	20	4.173
187.	239	98	20	4.198
188.	175	98	21	4.205
189.	233	98	20	4.211
190.	137	98	20	4.215
191.	245	98	21	4.265
192.	282	98	20	4.267
193.	50	99	19	3.701
194.	54	99	19	3.703
195.	213	99	20	3.842
196.	143	99	20	4.168
197.	178	99	20	4.172
198.	256	99	20	4.179
199.	1	99	20	4.184
200.	7	99	20	4.236
201.	183	100	18	3.522
202.	45	100	20	4.131
203.	121	100	19	4.146
204.	68	100	20	4.147
205.	248	100	20	4.218
206.	70	100	20	4.227
207.	123	100	20	4.245
208.	89	100	20	4.247
209.	104	101	20	4.232
210.	151	101	20	4.234
211.	82	102	19	4.100
212.	108	102	19	4.108
213.	49	102	19	4.161
214.	100	102	20	4.174
215.	117	102	19	4.206
216.	223	102	20	4.246
217.	111	103	19	4.147
218.	251	103	20	4.275
219.	77	104	19	4.168
220.	29	104	19	4.234
221.	16	104	20	4.262
222.	90	105	19	3.575
223.	105	105	20	4.164
224.	74	105	19	4.181
225.	227	105	20	4.183
226.	32	105	20	4.226
227.	106	105	20	4.259
228.	169	105	20	4.261
229.	254	106	20	3.903
230.	255	106	20	4.167
231.	103	106	20	4.190
232.	51	106	20	4.195
233.	15	106	19	4.198
234.	56	106	19	4.199
235.	231	106	20	4.224
236.	136	106	20	4.229
237.	198	106	19	4.261
238.	102	107	20	4.194
239.	98	108	20	3.920
240.	6	108	19	4.234
241.	221	108	19	4.236
242.	87	109	19	4.231
243.	114	109	20	4.235
244.	234	110	19	4.056
245.	194	110	19	4.071
246.	31	110	20	4.180
247.	25	110	19	4.202
248.	10	110	19	4.230
249.	24	110	20	4.239
250.	132	110	20	4.245
251.	63	111	20	4.244
252.	157	111	20	4.263
253.	97	112	19	4.228
254.	64	112	19	4.234
255.	250	113	19	4.226
256.	193	113	19	4.250
257.	225	114	19	3.900
258.	181	114	20	4.229
259.	120	114	20	4.250
260.	154	115	20	3.985
261.	204	115	19	4.237
262.	11	115	19	4.255
263.	272	115	19	4.261
264.	14	116	20	4.238
265.	71	116	19	4.278
266.	53	117	19	3.734
267.	149	117	19	4.093
268.	95	117	20	4.249
269.	268	117	19	4.256
270.	267	118	19	4.124
271.	280	118	19	4.173
272.	229	119	19	4.232
273.	101	120	19	4.256
274.	21	120	19	4.273
275.	113	121	19	4.261
276.	163	122	20	4.266
277.	13	123	19	4.248
278.	107	123	20	4.253
279.	88	124	20	4.242
280.	230	124	20	4.278
281.	155	126	19	4.269
282.	115	126	19	4.271

Figure 89. Weights of Coins in the Capernaum Gold Hoard.
(by Ariel Berman)



Note: The numbers given here are the *registration numbers* assigned to each coin and correspond to the numbers provided in column 2 of figure 88 (caption). Figure 88 (caption) rearranges the coins chronologically; there, the number given in column *1* refers to the *chronological position* of each coin.

— 31 —
— 32 —
— 33 —
— 34 —
— 35 —
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— 40 —
— 41 —
— 42 —
— 43 —
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— 56 —
— 57 —
— 58 —
— 59 —
— 60 —

— 61 — — 62 — — 63 — — 64 — — 65 — — 66 — — 67 — — 68 — — 69 — — 70 —

— 71 — — 72 — — 73 — — 74 — — 75 — — 76 — — 77 — — 78 — — 79 — — 80 —

— 81 — — 82 — — 83 — — 84 — — 85 — — 86 — — 87 — — 88 — — 89 — — 90 —

— 91 — — 92 — — 93 — — 94 — — 95 — — 96 — — 97 — — 98 — — 99 — — 100 —

— 101 — — 102 — — 103 — — 104 — — 105 — — 106 — — 107 — — 108 — — 109 — — 110 —

— 111 — — 112 — — 113 — — 114 — — 115 — — 116 — — 117 — — 118 — — 119 — — 120 —

— 121 — — 122 — — 123 — — 124 — — 125 — — 126 — — 127 — — 128 — — 129 — — 130 —

— 131 — — 132 — — 133 — — 134 — — 135 — — 136 — — 137 — — 138 — — 139 — — 140 —

— 141 — — 142 — — 143 — — 144 — — 145 — — 146 — — 147 — — 148 — — 149 — — 150 —

— 151 — — 152 — — 153 — — 154 — — 155 — — 156 — — 157 — — 158 — — 159 — — 160 —

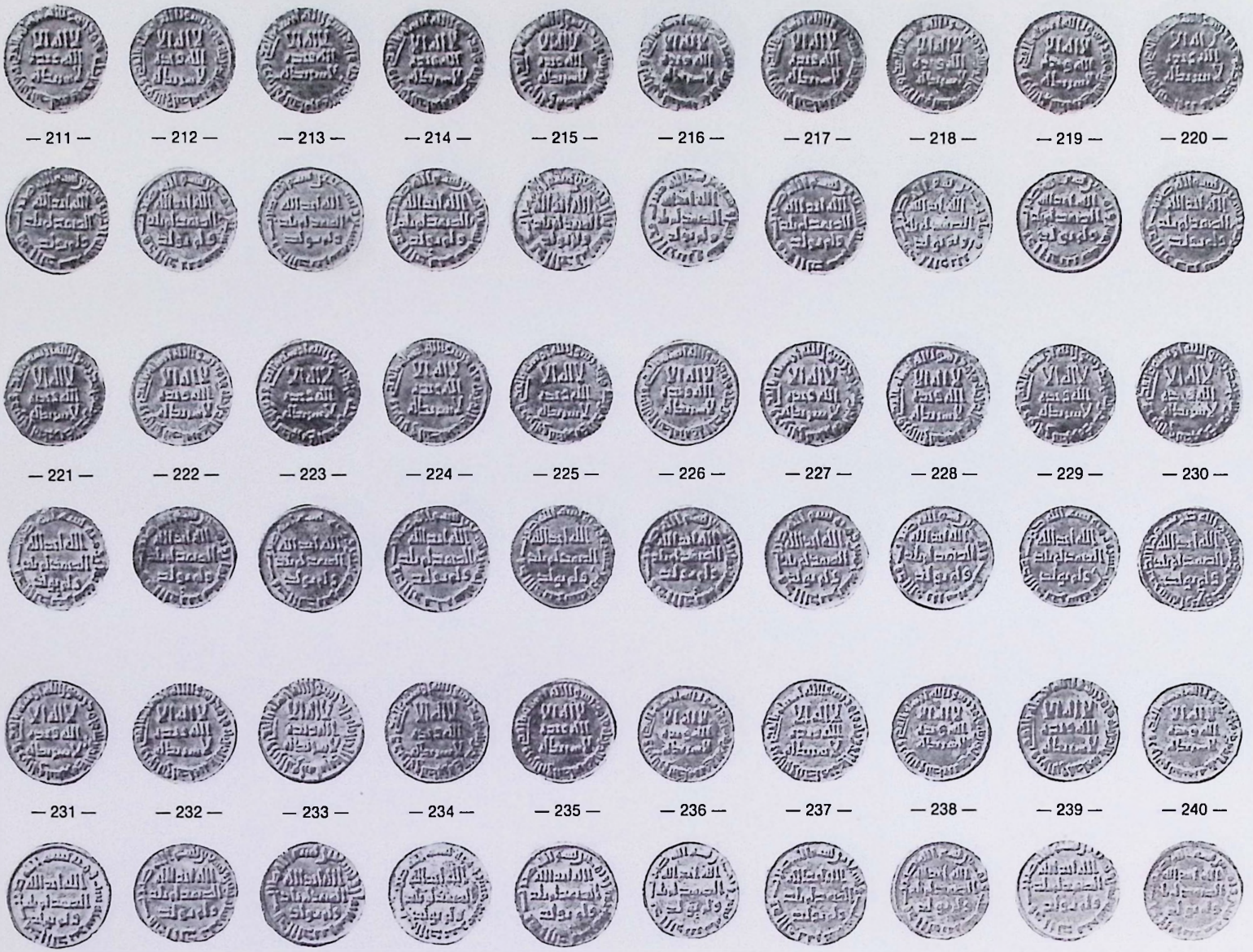
— 161 — — 162 — — 163 — — 164 — — 165 — — 166 — — 167 — — 168 — — 169 — — 170 —

— 171 — — 172 — — 173 — — 174 — — 175 — — 176 — — 177 — — 178 — — 179 — — 180 —

— 181 — — 182 — — 183 — — 184 — — 185 — — 186 — — 187 — — 188 — — 189 — — 190 —

— 191 — — 192 — — 193 — — 194 — — 195 — — 196 — — 197 — — 198 — — 199 — — 200 —

— 201 — — 202 — — 203 — — 204 — — 205 — — 206 — — 207 — — 208 — — 209 — — 210 —



— 211 — — 212 — — 213 — — 214 — — 215 — — 216 — — 217 — — 218 — — 219 — — 220 —

— 221 — — 222 — — 223 — — 224 — — 225 — — 226 — — 227 — — 228 — — 229 — — 230 —

— 231 — — 232 — — 233 — — 234 — — 235 — — 236 — — 237 — — 238 — — 239 — — 240 —

— 241 —
— 242 —
— 243 —
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— 245 —
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— 247 —
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— 267 —
— 268 —
— 269 —
— 270 —

— 271 — — 272 — — 273 — — 274 — — 275 — — 276 —

— 277 — — 278 — — 279 — — 280 — — 281 — — 282 —

7

sgraffiti

Ariel Berman

Discussion of the sgraffiti on the Islamic coins found at Capernaum is necessarily limited, for there is no known comparative material, published or otherwise, known to the author. The little that appears in numismatic literature on sgraffiti on coins in general is almost entirely limited to material from the Hellenistic period (Rahmani 1966) and is thus irrelevant in the present context.

Sgraffiti appear on at least 76 of the coins, that is, on over a third of the entire hoard (fig. 90). Isolated incisions or scratches have been disregarded. The softness of the gold required relatively little effort with a needle or pin to incise the sgraffiti on the coins. The markings do not appear accidental, and they are repeatedly placed in a particular position on the coins. The purely graphic design of Umayyad coins—generally three lines of script at the center, with a single line of script around—inherently leaves spaces in four places around the central script as well as between the central lines; a priori these spaces are available for sgraffiti.

It should be noted that there is a concentration of coins bearing sgraffiti in the years A.H. 78–80, representing over a third of the sgraffiti, as well as another concentration in A.H. 96–97.

The sgraffiti are in the form of compound symbols, geometric forms, monograms, single letters in Greek, Hebrew-Aramaic(?) and Arabic script, and random incisions. They more commonly appear on the obverse of the coins:

	On Obverse	*On Reverse*
In the upper space:	12 instances	19 instances
In the central space:	3 instances	2 instances
In the lower space:	26 instances	14 instances
In the right space:	11 instances	1 instance
In the left space:	20 instances	2 instances

It is to be noted that there is no relationship between frequency and order of the signs on the two sides of the coins.

[*text continues on p. 184*]

TABLE 8. Catalogue of Gold Coins with Sgraffiti

	Obverse					*Reverse*				
*No.**	*Upper*	*Central*	*Lower*	*Right*	*Left*	*Upper*	*Central*	*Lower*	*Right*	*Left*
1.			□							
3.			□		□					
4.					□					
5.			□							
7.										□
8.	□					□				
9.					□					
10.						□				
13.			□		□					
19.				□	□	□		□		
20.	□			□						
23.						□				
24.						□		□		
25.								□		
30.	□		□			□				
32.			□							
36.			□							
38.			□	□						
45.				□	□					
46.										
49.	□							□		
54.			□							
57.					□					
64.			□							
65.			□							
67.			□		□					
68.						□				
69.			□							
70.										
75.	□	□	□					□		
83.					□					
86.						□				
87.			□							
88.	□									
100.	□		□							
103.	□							□		
108.				□	□					□
123.					□					
								□		

TABLE 8, *continued*

	Obverse					*Reverse*				
*No.**	*Upper*	*Central*	*Lower*	*Right*	*Left*	*Upper*	*Central*	*Lower*	*Right*	*Left*
130.	□					□		□		
131.			□							
133.			□		□					
138.			□							
139.			□							
141.								□		
144.						□				
145.		□		□	□					
149.							□			
150.			□		□					
153.	□	□	□							
156.					□					
163.								□		
164.					□					
170.								□		
172.			□							
173.			□							
175.						□				
178.				□						
185.				□						
188.						□				
196.								□		
201.	□									
202.			□							
208.				□	□			□		
221.						□			□	
222.					□	□				
224.	□		□							
227.							□			
228.						□				
229.								□		
231.						□				
236.						□				
239.				□	□					
246.				□						
259.					□					
260.						□				
271.						□				

*Numbers refer to column 1 in figure 88 (the chronological order of each coin).

Year	*Cat. No.*
77	1
78	3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10
79	13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25
80	30, 32, 36, 38, 45, 46
81	49, 54
82	57
83	64, 65, 67
84	68, 69, 70, 75
87	83, 86, 87, 88
89	100, 103
90	108
91	123
92	130, 131
93	133
94	138, 139, 141
95	144, 145
96	149, 150, 153, 156
97	163, 164, 170, 172, 173, 175, 178
98	185, 188
99	196
100	201, 202, 208
104	221
105	222, 224, 227, 228
106	229, 231, 236
108	239
110	246
114	259
115	260
118	271

In a comparison made among the sgraffiti, it appears that no symbol repeats itself, and thus the assumption that they served as personal, secret identification marks cannot be upheld. This is so also concerning the possibility that the symbols were aids to counting and reckoning. It is clear, however, that these symbols had some meaning, for otherwise they would not appear so often.

Some of the less clear symbols might be ascribed to tests of quality of the metal, to prove the coin was not merely gold plated.

Chart of Sgraffiti

Greek Letters	No. of Coin	Greek Letters	No. of Coin	Greek Letters	No. of Coin	Hebrew Letters	No. of Coin	Arabic Letters	No. of Coin	Geometrical Signs	No. of Coin	Monograms	No. of Coin
A	4	W	138	H	222	קיטנקס	67	١٩٨	19	✡	19	⋈	141
A	36	∃J	173	^ v	224	٦ת	170	٥١٧٨	87	△	86	M	172
XM													
⊔ΛIIV	100	3	178	⊦⊓⊓	228	٥٨II	196	٩	103	✡	139	⊓⊓	229
V	130	✕	185	⊓ ⊀	239	١٥,٦٠٦	236			⋈	150		
ЧW	131	Z	188	⊬	271								

— 3 —

— 4 —

— 10 —

— 19 —

— 138 —

— 139 —

— 141 —

— 150 —

— 170 —

— 172 —

— 173 —

— 222 —

— 224 —

— 228 —

— 236 —

— 274 —

8

the identification of the site

John C. H. Laughlin

The present site identified as Capernaum is located on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, 206 m below mean Mediterranean sea level. The modern names by which the site is known are *Tell Ḥum*, in Arabic, and *Kefar Naḥum*, in Hebrew. Neither of these names occurs in the Bible, though *Kefar Naḥum* appears in a 4th–5th century A.D. inscription from Ḥammat Gader[1] and is mentioned in early Christian and Jewish writings.

In the Greek gospels, the name of the site has various spellings. In Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus, it is spelled *Capharnaoum* (Καφαρναούμ; cf. Matt 4:13, etc.), but in Codex Alexandrinus and later tradition, *Capernaoum* (Καπερναούμ), from which comes the familiar English spelling, *Capernaum*.[2] Similar spellings occur in Josephus.[3]

While most modern authors identify the site under discussion with the New Testament town of Capernaum,[4] there have been attempts to identify the latter with other sites, particularly Khirbet Minyeh,[5] a few kilometers to the southwest. One of the strongest voices of an earlier generation of scholars that argued for a location on or near Khirbet Minyeh

[1] Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 12. For a translation of the synagogue inscription at Ḥammat-Gader, see Avi-Yonah 1976b: 472.

[2] Abel 1928: 24. See also Arndt and Gingrich 1979: 427, s.v. Καφαρναούμ.

[3] *Wars* 3.10.8; *Vita* 72. See also the discussion in Bishop 1953: 427–37.

[4] Cf. Bishop 1955: 65; Abel 1968: 1. map IV; 2.292–93; Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1977: 228; Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 12; Elster et al. 1970: I/10; Avigad 1975: 286–90; Dalman 1935: 128–29; Negev 1972: 73; Wright and Filson 1956: 110 and pl. xviii; Baly 1957: 198. Of the modern period, C. Wilson was the first explorer to identify Tell Ḥum with Capernaum (1871: 342). The current consensus is concisely put by E. L. Sukenik: "The identification of this spot (i.e., Tell Ḥum) was long a subject of controversy, but it may now be accepted as certain that it is the site of the famous Capernaum mentioned in Josephus, the New Testament, the Talmud, and later texts" (1934: 7, n 1).

[5] So Robinson 1868: 403–5; 1857: 348–58. The most recent attempt to make this identification is Smith 1903: 456–57.

was that of Edward Robinson.[6] His most important arguments will be discussed below. However, it can already be noted here that excavations carried out at Khirbet Minyeh beginning in 1932 failed to uncover any remains predating the Islamic period.[7]

The controversy over the location of ancient Capernaum brings to the forefront the problem of site identification in Near Eastern archaeology. Apart from rare inscriptions bearing the name of a site, there is usually little direct archaeological evidence for making a positive site identification. Three types of sources are available to the archaeologist in this regard: ancient written sources, modern placename(s), and archaeological data.

ANCIENT SOURCES

The Gospels

The two most ancient texts mentioning Capernaum are the gospels in the New Testament and the writings of Josephus. The city is mentioned sixteen times in the former and twice in the latter.[8] But even though the city is the scene of much of Jesus' Galilean ministry, there is little evidence in the New Testament that helps in locating it. About the most that can be concluded is that Capernaum was "a city of Galilee" (Luke 4:31) located "by the sea, in the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali" (Matt 4:13). Once Capernaum is referred to as the home of Jesus (Mark 2:1), and the Gospel of John (6:1–24) locates the setting of the story of the feeding of the 5,000 several kilometers from Capernaum. But no information is given by any of the New Testament references that can be used to locate the site conclusively.

It is thus surprising to discover that Robinson tried to argue that the New Testament references to Capernaum forced its location to be near Khan Minyeh (a small ruin just north of Khirbet Minyeh). Part of his argument is based on his assumption that the New Testament locates Capernaum in or near the Plain of Gennesaret,[9] which automatically rules out the modern site of Tell Ḥum. In actuality Capernaum and Gennesaret are never mentioned in the same context at all in the gospels. It is true that both Matthew (14:22–34) and Mark (6:45–53) have the disciples going to Gennesaret after the feeding of the 5,000, while John's Gospel has them departing for Capernaum (6:16–25). But to assume, as Robinson did, that Capernaum in the Gospel of John must be located in or near the land of Gennesaret mentioned in Matthew and Mark is to make too much of the obscure geographical references in the gospels. In point of fact, neither Matthew nor Mark ever mention Capernaum in connection with the story of the feeding of the 5,000. Furthermore, in the Gospel of Luke, no boat trip to any place on the lake is mentioned following this miracle (cf. Luke 9:10–18)! Thus, to argue, as Robinson did, that the "boat trip" narrated in three of the gospels provides the "incontrovertible" conclusion that Capernaum was situated "in or adjacent to the plain of Gennesaret"[10] is to mistake the "itinerary" provided Jesus by the Gospel authors with the services of a modern travel agent.

On the other hand, the author of Matthew's Gospel does attempt to locate Capernaum, but not by reference to the land of Gennesaret. Rather he reports that the city was located "in the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali" (4:13). The limits of these ancient tribal territories are uncertain and

[6] See particularly Robinson 1857: 348–58.

[7] Schneider 1952: 23–45. See also Grabar et al. 1960: 226–43; Grabar 1975: 875–76. See also the comments in Bishop 1955: 65, and esp. Bishop 1953: 429–30; McCown 1943: 257–60; Pellett 1962: 532–34.

[8] Matt 4:13; 8:5; 11:23; 17:24; Mark 1:21; 2:1; 9:33; Luke 4:23, 31; 7:1; 10:15; John 2:12; 4:46; 6:17, 24, 59; Josephus, *War* 3.10.8; *Vita* 72.

[9] Robinson 1857: 348–50.

[10] Robinson 1857: 350.

often obscure, at best. But according to the description given the territorial limits of Naphtali in the book of Joshua (cf. 19:32–39), the eastern border of this tribe extended as far as the Jordan River. By this description, Tell Ḥum would certainly lie within the borders of Naphtali. However, since Matthew locates Capernaum this way in order to "fulfil" yet another prophecy (cf. Isa 9:1–2), this reference too should be used with caution. Nevertheless, despite Robinson's argument to the contrary, there is no location given for Capernaum in the gospels that automatically precludes present day Tell Ḥum.

Josephus

The same is essentially true of the two references in Josephus. In *Wars* 3.10.8, he mentions a fountain called *Capharnaum* located in Gennesaret. Since there is no spring at the present site of Tell Ḥum, it is usually assumed that he meant the fountain at Tabgha (Heptapagon), which lies about 2 km. west of the present site. Robinson, on the other hand, identified this fountain with ʿAin et-Tin, located at the southern foot of Tell ʿOreimeh.[11] But this identification is most unlikely. Josephus describes the fountain as one suitable for irrigating the Gennesaret. But the spring suggested by Robinson is too low to be of much, if any, practical use for irrigation.[12] On the other hand, at Tabgha there is evidence that the level of the water of the springs was raised so that it could be carried off via aqueducts.[13] If the main water supply for Capernaum was by means of one of these aqueducts, it might explain why the fountain received the same name as the town.[14]

Elsewhere (*Vita* 72), Josephus describes a *Cepharnome* or *Capernaum* as the closest place to which he could be taken after suffering an injury near Julias (Bethsaida?). If the site of his injury is located east of the Jordan where it flows into the sea, then Capernaum would have been a few kilometers to the west, a geographical description that well fits the site of Tell Ḥum. Robinson's contention that Tell Ḥum could not be the location of the Capernaum to which Josephus was taken is based solely upon speculation—on his assumption that the town of Capernaum had to be immediately adjacent to the fountain bearing the same name.[15] Actually, Josephus gives no specific evidence helpful in locating the town nor the reason(s) why Capernaum was chosen for his stop. If he simply wanted to withdraw from the battlefield for rest and attention to his wound, then the present site of Tell Ḥum would have been both suitable and practical.

About all that can be concluded from both the New Testament and Josephus is that Capernaum was located on the northern or northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, close to both Tabgha and Julias. The present location of Tell Ḥum fits this description, but the evidence gleaned from these two ancient literary sources is not conclusive.

Church Fathers

The same conclusion is in order when early Christian and Jewish texts are examined. Very little information is

[11] Robinson 1857: 350. For another American at that site, see Mark Twain's comments: " . . . lunched . . . at the fountain they call Ain-et-Tin, a hundred yards from ruined Capernaum" (Twain 1870: 495).

[12] This observation was made long ago; see Christie 1920: 15.

[13] As of this writing, the remains of one such aqueduct were still visible on the grounds of the Karei Deshe Youth Hostel, which is located just west of Tabgha.

[14] Christie 1920: 14–15, reports that the foundation work of some of the piers that supported the aqueduct could still be seen within a few feet of the ruins of Tell Ḥum. I have been unable to find where any study of such water works has been subsequently conducted, though there are still visible at Tabgha the remains of stone towers which Christie suggested were used to raise the water level.

[15] Robinson 1857: 551–52.

available for locating the site. Several of the church fathers mention Capernaum but usually in a very general way. Origen of Alexandria (A.D. 182–251) wrote nothing of its location and even misspelled it, calling it *Kfar Nocham* ('village of consolation').[16] Eusebius (A.D. 264–340), Bishop of Caesarea in A.D. 315, is a little more specific in his *Onomasticon*. He states that the town of Capernaum still existed in his day on the shore of the Sea of Gennesar in *finibus* of Zebulun and Naphtali.[17] But the precise location is not given.

Of much greater help is St. Epiphanes (A.D. 315–402), Bishop of Salamis. In his *Panarion*, a treatise on heresies, he describes the problem of establishing a Christian community in Kefar Naḥum, which was still Jewish until the middle of the 4th century A.D. At that time, Epiphanes relates that a Christian church was erected on the traditional site of St. Peter's house. The decree to build the church was given by Emperor Constantine the Great to Count Joseph, governor of Tiberias. The construction of the church was begun in A.D. 352.[18] (The results of the Franciscan excavations at Tell Ḥum may directly illuminate this event.)[19] If this is true, there is hardly room for any doubt that the present site identified as Kefar Naḥum and the site mentioned by Epiphanes are one and the same.

The Latin father, Jerome (A.D. 340–420), adds nothing to the question of the location of ancient Capernaum. However, he did try to explain away *nahum* as *nichum* ('consolation') or as *noʾam* ('loveliness').[20]

Jewish Sources

In the Midrash Rabbah and Talmud, *Kefar Naḥum* is mentioned, but nothing is said of its location. Also various spellings are used for the name of the site. In the Midrash on Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, it is spelled *Kfar Teḥumin*.[21] In the Jerusalem Talmud, completed ca. A.D. 400, the village of *Teḥomin* is mentioned as the home of some well-known rabbis, but the location of the town is not discussed.[22] A. Neubauer identified the village called *Teḥomin* in the Talmud as *Cafarnahum*.[23]

Pilgrim Reports

After the rise of Constantine in the 4th century A.D. many Christians made pilgrimages to Palestine. Some of these have left written records of their travels and observations. In many such texts Capernaum is mentioned as a place visited or seen, but few of them contain sufficient specific information to be helpful in pinpointing the town's location. For example, in describing the pilgrimage of Paula, who visited the area in the late 4th century A.D., Jerome says she went to "Cana and Capharnaum, the witnesses of His [Christ's] miracles."[24]

On the other hand, Theodosius, who visited the site in the 6th century A.D., reported that the distance from "the seven fountains" to Capernaum is two miles.[25] If by the "seven fountains" he meant the springs at Tabgha (Heptapegon; ʿen ha-Shivah), then he placed Capernaum precisely at Tell Ḥum. Earlier, Egeria, a late 4th century A.D. visitor to the site, reported seeing the House of Peter and the remains

[16] Sapir and Neʾeman 1967: 22. Cf. Abel 1928: 27.
[17] Baldi 1935: 375, n 432.
[18] Sapir and Neʾeman 1967: 22; Baldi 1935: 372, n 433.
[19] Corbo 1969a.
[20] Baldi 1935: 373, n 434.
[21] *Midr. Rab. Cant.* II:14:2; *Midr. Qoh.* I:8:4; VII:26:3.
[22] *t. Taʿan.* VI:150; *t. Ketub.* VIII:32; *t. Ter.* III:136; *t. Peʾa* II:14. Cf. *b. Menaḥ.* 85a.
[23] Neubauer 1868: 221.
[24] Stewart 1887: 14.
[25] Bernard 1893: 8.

of a synagogue.[26] While she does not speak directly concerning its location, the present archaeological history of the synagogue and house church at Tell Ḥum fits her description perfectly. But this is hardly true of the area near or at Khirbet Minyeh. Another pilgrim, known as Anonymous Placentinus, also visited what in the second half of the 6th century A.D. was thought to be Capernaum, and described seeing the house of Peter " . . . que est modo basilica."[27]

A more helpful description of the location of Capernaum comes from the 7th century A.D. pilgrim Arculfus.[28] He states that those wishing to go from Jerusalem to Capernaum must pass through Tiberias along the Sea of Galilee until they reach the site of the Blessing (i.e., of the fish and loaves). Then by following the shore of the sea, they come at no great distance to Capernaum. He describes the town as being on the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, containing no wall, and confined in the narrow space between the mountain and the lake. He further describes the town as stretching a long way along the shore from west to east with the mountain to the north of it and the lake to the south. Though this description is still very general it does rule out Khirbet Minyeh, since this site neither lies on an east-west axis nor stretches a long way along the shore. However, some of his description is problematic for Tell Ḥum. As already noted, the precise territory implied by the expression "borders of Zebulun and Naphtali" is unclear, although some take this to mean a location further west than Tell Ḥum. But since he is probably doing nothing other than quoting the passage out of Matthew, not too much should be made of it. Still, as stated above, Tell Ḥum certainly lay within the border of Naphtali. Arculfus' reference to a mountain lying north of the city is also ambiguous. Furthermore, there is no mountain immediately north of Tell Ḥum. Arculfus himself never actually went to Capernaum but viewed it from some nearby vantage point. If he was looking toward the ancient town from the hill immediately north of Tabgha, then the site would have had the appearance of lying on a narrow strip between the mountain and the sea.

Curiously, Robinson tried to use these early pilgrim reports, especially that of Arculfus', to support his claim of Khan Minyeh as the location of Capernaum.[29] This in spite of the fact that not one fragment of a synagogue and/or house-church reported as having been seen by many of these early pilgrims has ever been found at or near his proposed location. In any case, there is no reason why Arculfus' description would not fit the site of Tell Ḥum.[30] McCown's conclusion of over 40 years ago is a more accurate interpretation of these early reports: "Nearly all of the ancient Christian pilgrims to Galilee recorded visiting Magdala, modern Mejdel, two miles north of Tiberias; then, two miles farther on, the Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves, or Heptapegon (modern Tabgha); and still two miles farther north Capharnaum, which quite clearly then, lay at Tell Ḥum."[31]

It is noticeable from the reports after the Arab invasion in the early 7th century A.D. that references to the house of Peter in Capernaum are absent.[32] Instead, visitors are shown a house of "John the evangelist."[33] In fact there seems to have been little interest in the site between the time of the Arab invasion and the Crusader period. Between the 7th and 11th centuries, there are hardly a half dozen extant reports of visitors to the site. The dangers involved in travel to the vicinity during this period should also be taken into consideration.

[26] Wilkinson 1981: 194, 196.
[27] Baldi 1935: 373, n 436.
[28] MacPherson 1895: 44.
[29] Robinson 1857: 354.
[30] Cf. the very similar description of the location of the town by the 8th-century pilgrim, the Venerable Bede (MacPherson 1895: 83).
[31] McCown 1943: 257.
[32] Cf. Wilkinson 1977: 153–54.
[33] See, for example, St. Helenae et Constantine Vita (Baldi 1935: 375, n 440).

By the 12th century, there is a resurgence of visitors and reports. However, there is much confusion in the reports over the location of the site, which is now described as being deserted.[34] Fetellus (ca. 1130) does mention that Capernaum is situated at the upper end of the sea, two miles from the mountain on which Christ preached the sermon to the multitudes.[35] But such a general description does not allow precise location. Others even locate the town on the Mediterranean coast![36] Apparently the location of Capernaum shifted according to the needs or dispositions of the guides. But over all, the reports from this period seem to locate the ruins of Capernaum at the present site of Tell Ḥum.[37] Also, whereas the earlier reports speak of a living city, the reports from the 12th century on imply that the site was no longer occupied. References are no longer made to observable buildings but to the literary occurrences of Capernaum in the gospels.[38]

Typical of the reports is that of Burchard of Mount Sion (ca. 1283) who says of Capernaum that it scarcely contained "seven houses of poor fishermen."[39] In the first third of the 14th century, the town is described as "a village in ruins."[40] This same author comments that the Kefar Naḥum of his day was the same Kefar Naḥum spoken of in the writings of the sages. Again, in the middle of the 14th century, the pilgrim, Fr. Niccolo Da Poggibonsi, describes Capernaum as "all but in ruins and beaten to the ground."[41]

Mention should also be made of the visit of Rabbi Menachem of Hebron to the area in 1215. He wrote that the distance from Tiberias to the town called *Tanchum* was about 18 km.[42] For the most part, 14th and 15th century references to Capernaum are very general and are of little worth concerning its location.[43]

From these reports, several conclusions can be drawn:

1. From the 4th–7th centuries A.D., Capernaum was a well-inhabited town in which visitors could see the remains of a synagogue and a house-church associated with St. Peter. The town is said to be located between what was taken to be Bethsaida (east of where the Jordan flows into the sea) and ʿEn ha-Shivah (Tabgha).

2. After the Arab Conquest of A.D. 636, the town apparently declined considerably in size, and what few visitors' reports there are from this period, do not contain references to the above-mentioned architectural features.

3. By the time of the Crusader period, Capernaum is practically deserted and in ruins. Consequently, other sites, perhaps of easier access, are suggested as the town, especially Khirbet Minyeh, but even sites on the Mediterranean coastline.

For the most part, the archaeological history of Tell Ḥum can readily be made to fit the descriptions of the town given in many of these reports. This same is not so for such sites as Khirbet Minyeh, Khorazin, Magdalah, or Bethsaida.

MODERN PLACE NAMES

Kefar Naḥum

The modern place names for the site, Kefar Naḥum and Tell Ḥum, are also problematical with regard to origin and

[34] See, for example, the report by Abbot Daniel (Wilson 1895: 54).

[35] MacPherson 1896: 28.

[36] Abbot Daniel (Wilson 1895: 54).

[37] Cf. Anonymous Pilgrim VI: Pseuda Beda (Stewart 1894a: 54).

[38] Stewart 1894a: 54; Stewart 1896c: 16. In this report, by Jacques de Vitry, Capernaum is given just one sentence.

[39] Stewart 1896d: 29.

[40] Isaac Chilo, in Adler 1966: 147.

[41] Poggibonsi 1945: 66. Cf. the similar description by L. von Suchem, ca. 1350 (Stewart 1895: 123).

[42] Sapir and Neʾeman 1967: 30. By the present highway, Tell Ḥum is a little over 15 km. from downtown modern Tiberias. Since the Tiberias of the 13th century was south of the present city, Menachem's distance is quite accurate.

[43] Cf. the report of Felix Fabri (Stewart 1893: 108).

etymology. The Hebrew name, *Kefar Naḥum*, clearly enough means the 'village of Naḥum.' But which *Naḥum* is meant, no one seems to know. There is no evidence to relate the name to the Old Testament prophet. The name most likely derived from some venerated rabbi, named "Tanchum," (the name of the site in early Jewish literature), but it later merged with a tradition about Naḥum, the Old Testament prophet.[44] In later tradition, *Tanchum* replaced *Naḥum* as the name of the site. Thus the place known as *Kefar Naḥum* or *Capharnaoum* (in Greek) in the 1st century A.D. became known as *Tanchum* in the Middle Ages only to be corrupted by the Arabs into *Tell Ḥum*.

In the 16th century, *Tanchum* was said to contain the tombs of Naḥum the prophet and a rabbi named Tanchuma.[45] Masonry tombs have been found at the present site, but certainly no evidence relates them to any person named "Naḥum" or "Tanchuma." Perhaps Sapir is correct when he suggests that some local sage who gained a following among the first settlers of the area may have been responsible for the name.[46]

Tell Ḥum

There is no certain explanation for the place name *Tell Ḥum* either, but the consensus seems to be that it is a corruption of *Tanhum*, which is said to be a common variant of *Naḥum*.[47] According to this theory, the corruption of the name by the Arabs resulted in the place name *Talḥum*, which was subsequently misinterpreted as *Tell Ḥum*, even though the site is not obviously a mound.[48]

How soon after the Arab invasion the present site came to be called Tell Ḥum is unclear. The name does not seem to appear in visitors' journals until the 17th century. One of the first authors to mention it is P. Michel Nau. Writing around 1666, he states that *Capharnaum* is the place known as *Telhhoum*.[49] Baldi, in his footnote to Nau, says that *Telhhoum* is *Tel Ḥum*, which had been corrupted from *Tanḥum*.[50]

In 1745 Richard Pococke identified Capernaum with a round fountain (Tabgha?) that he associated with the fountain mentioned by Josephus. But he states further that another place is commonly shown for Capernaum, *Tellhoue*, which he identifies as Tarichea.[51] In all probability, the Tellhoue he refers to is the present site of Tell Ḥum.

A more specific identification comes from the traveler, J. S. Buckingham. Visiting the area in the early 19th century, he reports reaching a station called *Tal-hewn* or *Tal-hewm*, which was formerly called *Caphernaoom*.[52] From this place he says that Tiberias was south-southwest, some 14.5–19 km in a straight line. This description of the distance of Tiberias almost certainly places him at the present site of Tell Ḥum.

While the name *Tell Ḥum* is not attested, then, in literary sources until comparatively late, there has been a strong Christian tradition from the 6th century A.D. onward that the place subsequently called *Tell Ḥum* is indeed Capernaum.[53] However, how far back into antiquity the name *Tell*

[44] Adler 1966: 147; Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 29; Schwarz 1969: 188.

[45] Carmoly 1847: 385.

[46] Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 19. For a general discussion of the name, Capernaum, see Abel 1928: 24–34.

[47] So Sukenik 1934: 7; Bishop 1953: 430; Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 12; North 1977: 425; Abel 1968: 2.292–93.

[48] Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 12; Smith 1903: 456, n 2; cf. also Bishop 1953: 430–31.

[49] Baldi 1935: 382, n 458. The Russian Hegumen Daniel may have known the site as "Tel Hum" in the 12th century. See Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 26. Cf. the discussion in Abel 1928: 33–34.

[50] Baldi 1935: 382, n 1.

[51] Pococke 1745: 71.

[52] Buckingham 1821: 469.

[53] Cf. Pellett 1962: 533.

Ḥum goes is not known. The name is probably much older than the literary sources in which it is found.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

While the ancient literary sources and the modern place names do not prove conclusively the location of Capernaum, the evidence does weigh heavily in favor of the site now known as Tell Ḥum or Kefar Naḥum. What is certain is that the archaeological excavations carried out on the present site have uncovered an important ancient town, which—if not Capernaum—is simply unknown.

The initial excavation of the site was carried out in 1865-1866 by Charles Wilson, who made the first soundings in the synagogue. The work was continued in the early 1900s by the German archaeologists, H. Kohl and C. Watzinger. In the 1920s, the Franciscan, G. Orfali, uncovered the octagonal church and restored part of the synagogue. In 1968 the Franciscan Fathers, V. Corbo and S. Loffreda, began a thorough and systematic excavation, which is still in progress, of the western sector of the site. The major archaeological work on the site up to 1978 has been exclusively on the western half of the ruins held by the Franciscans since 1894. The most famous finds from these excavations are the synagogue, about which a great deal has been written,[54] and the so-called "house of St. Peter."[55] The town itself remains virtually unexplored, though the evidence indicates that the site was settled in the 2nd century B.C. after a long occupational gap.

Rarely, if ever, in the history of archaeology of the Holy Land have the literary references to a place been so supported by the archaeological evidence as in the case of Capernaum. This is especially true of the references in the early pilgrims' reports to "Peter's house." Perhaps even more startling is the recent announcement by Corbo and Loffreda that they may now have found the 1st century A.D. synagogue itself.[56] If further excavation supports this conclusion, there is hardly any room for doubt that the present site known as Tell Ḥum contains the ancient remains of the New Testament town of Capernaum. The very least one could conclude is that the case for any alternative site has been greatly weakened. This is especially true for Khirbet Minyeh and its immediate vicinity where archaeological evidence has conclusively shown that no 1st century A.D. town existed at all.

The present excavation being carried out on the Greek Orthodox property immediately to the east of the Franciscan sector has begun to fill in many of the gaps in the archaeological history of the site. One of the most important conclusions already reached is that the town was not abandoned during the Byzantine period as suggested by the Franciscans,[57] but rather that the population center shifted eastward during the Persian and Arab invasions of the first half of the 7th century A.D.

The archaeological evidence as a whole indicates that the site was a flourishing town from at least early Roman times to the 10th century. By that time, economic poverty seems to have forced the abandonment of the site, which was never reoccupied.

CONCLUSION

While the problem of site identification is a perennial one for all archaeologists, it is made especially complex

[54] The date of the synagogue is still disputed. The most recent excavators, Corbo and Loffreda, date it to the middle of the 4th century A.D. See Loffreda 1973: 37-42 and 1980: 49-56. Cf. Chan 1980: 38. Other archaeologists, particularly Israeli, date it to the 3rd century A.D.

[55] Loffreda 1980: 25-42. For a brief history of the excavations in the Franciscan property up to 1964, see Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 34ff. Cf. Loffreda 1980: 10-12.

[56] See "Capernaum Discoveries," *The Jerusalem Post*, Friday, July 15, 1983, 16.

[57] Loffreda 1980: 19.

where attempts must be made to identify a site with place names in ancient sources. The history of such attempts in so-called "biblical archaeology" makes clear the need for a more precise methodology than has hitherto been used. But apart from unusual hard and fast archaeological data, the jump from archaeological results to ancient place names can never be made with absolute certainty.

Still, in the case of Capernaum, the evidence is overwhelming. What is now known archaeologically about the modern site of Tell Ḥum can readily be made to support the literary references to the ancient town of Capernaum. The purpose of the above discussion has not been to try to "force" such a conclusion but to argue that there are good reasons for accepting it. The convergence of the archaeological and literary evidence leaves little room for reasonable doubt that in this case, at least, the identification of the present archaeological site is secure.

THE ROMAN PERIOD
(to ca. A.D. 324)

Capernaum (or, less commonly, Capharnaum) is well known to readers of the gospels as one of the principal centers of the activity of Jesus in Galilee. Mark, the earliest of the gospels and therefore the earliest text mentioning Capernaum, locates much of the teaching and the first exorcisms and healings of Jesus in the Capernaum synagogue (Mark 1:21-34). Capernaum was the place to which he returned after his travels (Mark 2:1-12; 9:33) and where his Galilean ministry began and ended. Of his first followers among the fishermen of the northwest shore of the Sea of Galilee (Kinnereth), two had a house at Capernaum (Mark 1:29). Though he himself came from Nazareth a few miles away (Mark 1:9; 3:19, 31-35; 6:1), he seems to have regarded Capernaum as his town (cf. Matt 9:1). There is, however, no conclusive reason to believe that he had his own house there (contra Kennard 1946); the phrase "at home" (*en oikō*) in Mark 2:1 does not necessarily imply this conclusion, nor does the notice in Matt 4:13 that he settled there (*katōkēsen*). Other events, the location of which is not clearly indicated (e.g., Mark 3:1-6; 5:22-43), may have taken place there, and much of his early teaching was delivered on the neighboring seashore, sometimes from a boat moored a few yards offshore (e.g., Mark 2:13; 3:7; 4:1-34; 5:21). It was at the customs office (*telōnion*) in the same neighborhood, probably in the town itself, that he conscripted another disciple, Levi son of Alphaeus, identified with Matthew in the first gospel (Mark 2:14-15; Matt 9:9-10).

Much of this information is reproduced, with editorial adjustments, in the first and third gospels. Drawing on a common source—the hypothetical Q—they also record the healing of a centurion's servant in the town (Matt 8:5-13; Luke 7:1-10) and a saying of Jesus condemning Capernaum, together with Khorazin and Bethsaida, for not accepting his teaching (Matt 11:20-24; Luke 10:13-15). The first gospel

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the literary evidence

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adds another story recording the highly original way in which Jesus paid the half-shekel temple tax (Matt 17:24–27).

The fourth gospel gives less attention to Capernaum and correspondingly more to Cana, scene of the wedding party where water was turned into wine. It also has its own version of the centurion's servant and describes the supplicant more vaguely as a royal official (*basilikos*, John 4:46–54). The location of the discourse on the bread of life in the Capernaum synagogue simply follows the Synoptic predilection for this locale (John 6:59). The fourth gospel describes Simon and Andrew as natives of Bethsaida and places their call to discipleship outside of Galilee (John 1:35–52; cf. v 43). The appended last chapter of this gospel describes, finally, a post-resurrection appearance of Jesus by the Sea of Galilee, though the locality is not further specified (John 21:1–23).

We must bear in mind, in assessing this information, that is was edited during the last third of the 1st century A.D., and therefore from no less than forty years and as much as seventy years after the situations and events described. It will be even more important to allow for the purposes that the gospels were intended to serve, among which the provision of biographical and topographical information was not uppermost. It is possible, for example, that the condemnation by Jesus of Capernaum and nearby towns (Matt 11:20–24) had something to do with the apparent failure of the Christian movement to take strong root in Galilee, and in that part of Galilee in particular. The Acts of the Apostles testifies to the Christian mission in Samaria but says nothing of expansion in Galilee, apart from the vague and uninformative note at Acts 9:31 (Freyne 1980: 344–91). Another problem area is the account of the healing of the centurion's servant or slave at Capernaum (according to John 4:46, his son). The main point, made very forcibly in Matthew, is contrast between Gentile openness to the message of Jesus and its rejection by Jews. In Luke, however, the centurion uses the town elders as intermediaries, and it is they who inform Jesus that "he loves our nation and built the synagogue for us" (Luke 7:5). It is astonishing that an officer of centurion rank would put up the money for an entire synagogue rather than, say, a column or an item of ornamentation. There is also the consistent emphasis of the author of Luke-Acts on the benevolent attitude of the Romans, reflected in the conversion of another centurion, the proselyte Cornelius (Acts 10). These examples will at least serve as a reminder that we cannot read the historical situation from the surface of the gospels without subjecting them to critical, and often inconclusive, inquiry.

The gospel data, then, present Capernaum as the center of Jesus' activity in the Galilee. It had at least one synagogue and was home to a Roman military detachment under a centurion. The *telōnion* situated in or near the town may be connected with the transit of goods between the tetrarchies of Herod Antipas and Philip, the former in Galilee, the latter in the Upper Transjordanian region. Capernaum may also have served as a transit point for the export of grain from the Golan (Gaulanitis), though for both purposes Bethsaida-Julias (generally located at Khirbet el-ᶜAraj where the Jordan enters Kinnereth) would seem to have been better located. But both towns were well placed on a branch of the ancient Via Maris linking Egypt with Syria and northern Mesopotamia (Aharoni 1966: 41–49). Given its situation, Capernaum owed its prosperity to fishing and agriculture. Founded probably in the late Hellenistic period (Meyers and Strange 1981: 12; *Cafarnao* I: 215), it must have declined in importance after the establishment and rapid growth of Tiberias, about 16 km. to the south, in the second decade of the 1st century A.D. For information on the earliest phase of its history we are obliged, however, to rely exclusively on the archaeological data.

That Capernaum had been thoroughly eclipsed by Tiberias at the time the gospels were written is confirmed by Josephus, a native of Galilee, writing about the same time. In his description of the fertile plain of Gennesar he mentions a spring known to the locals as *Capharnaum*, adding the curious notice that "some have imagined this to be a

branch of the Nile, from its producing a fish resembling the coracin [*korakinos*, perhaps catfish] found in the lake of Alexandria" (*Wars* 3:10.8). Josephus is no doubt referring to the largest of the springs at Tabgha. By an interesting coincidence, the mosaics of the Byzantine church at Tabgha (*Heptapegon*) display a conventional nilotic landscape including a nilometer to measure the depth of the sea water. This notice of Josephus played its part in the identification of Capernaum with Khirbet Minyeh, stubbornly defended by Edward Robinson in the last century. But Tel Ḥum is less than 3 km. to the north, and there is no difficulty in positing a connection between the town and the Tabgha area; the latter may, for example, have formed a kind of industrial suburb of Capernaum (Kopp 1963: 176).

Writing several decades later (*Vita* 72), Josephus records how, during a cavalry engagement near Bethsaida, he was thrown from his horse, injured his wrist, and was taken for medical treatment to a village (*kōmē*) called *Kepharnokos*. On the advice of the local doctors he was, however, transferred the same night to Taricheae, a town that he himself had fortified earlier in the rebellion. Taricheae is almost certainly to be identified with Magdala (Mejdel) 4.5 km. north of Tiberias and, despite the variant form (and others in the MSS), there can be no doubt that it was to Capernaum (Tel Ḥum) that he was first taken for aid.

A survey of these writings may give us a rough idea of the relative significance or insignificance of Galilean towns mentioned in the gospels. Nazareth and Khorazin do not occur at all in Josephus, Capernaum, as we have just seen, only once (twice if we include the spring), Bethsaida-Julias nine times, Caesarea Philippi twelve times, and Tiberias (which occurs in the New Testament only at John 6:23) on numerous occasions. If the generally accepted identification is correct, Taricheae was the birthplace of Mary Magdalene and occurs as a variant of Dalmanutha in the Caesarean text of Mark 8:10 (cf. Matt 15:39, Magadan). Pliny the Elder's roughly contemporaneous description of the region in his *Historia Naturalis* gives a similar impression. Among the "pleasant towns" around the Sea of Galilee he sees fit to mention by name only Julias, Hippos, Taricheae, and Tiberias (I.V.12–14).

That is about all the information we can elicit from the extant sources on the Capernaum of the 1st century A.D. It is reasonable to suppose that, like other Galilean towns, it received an influx of population from Judea after the disastrous wars of A.D. 66–70 and 132–135. From the 1st to 4th centuries A.D., when the first pilgrims began to arrive, we have practically no information on the town. None of the early Christian writers who either visited or lived in Palestine during those centuries (e.g., Melito of Sardis as reported by Eusebius [*Hist. Eccl.* I.IV.26] and Origen) are of help and no travel accounts have survived, if they ever existed. A passage in *Midrash Qoheleth* (1.8.4) tells how a certain Ḥanina, nephew of the second generation Tanna R. Joshua, came to Capernaum and was seduced by the local *mînîm* into riding a donkey through the town on the sabbath. His uncle released him from the spell but he was condemned to expiate his indiscretion by exile in Babylon. While the term *mîn* can denote more than one type of sectarian or apostate, these particular *mînîm* and sinners (*Qoh. Rab.* 7:8) were almost certainly Christians of Jewish origin. We may compare the discussions that took place in Sepphoris in the early 2nd century A.D., between R. Eliezer and the *mîn* Jacob who was certainly a Jewish-Christian (Freyne 1980: 347–48).

All we can say, then, is that during the first three centuries of the common era Capernaum remained a predominantly Jewish town with a minority of Jewish-Christians. In the absence of information on the place, understandable in view of its relative insignificance, we may suppose that it enjoyed a certain prosperity under the Antonine and Severan dynasties, on the whole a good time for Palestinian Judaism, and that it suffered together with the rest of the country, and especially the villages dependent directly on agriculture, from the political and social disorders of the mid-3rd century A.D.

This was a time of heavy taxation, inflation, and high prices, resulting in great poverty and frequent famine—a situation only partially brought under control by the fiscal reforms of Diocletian (A.D. 284–305). With the accession of Constantine in A.D. 306 or, more precisely, his defeat of Licinius in A.D. 324 (which gave him control of the east), an entirely new epoch began for the Jews of Palestine (Avi-Yonah 1976a: 158–74).

BYZANTINE CAPERNAUM
(A.D. 324–640)

One of the most difficult problems posed by the literary evidence is that of earliest Christianity in Capernaum. The harsh words attributed to Jesus in the gospel may indicate that at the time of writing there was either no church at all or none worthy of commendation. The incident reported in *Qoheleth Rabbah* supports the presence of Jewish Christians in the town who enjoyed no great reputation among Galilean Jews. By the end of the Roman period—the early 4th century A.D.—the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius mentions the town but provides no additional information: "Capharnaum, alongside Lake Gennesareth, still exists today as a town situated in Galilee of the Gentiles, in the territory of Zebulon and Naphthali" (Klostermann 1966: 120–21). Writing a few decades later, Epiphanius of Salamis reports on good authority that during the reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337) a certain Joseph of Tiberias, a high-ranking convert from Judaism, received imperial authorization to build Christian churches at Tiberias, Sepphoris, Nazareth, Capernaum, and other places where previously none but Jews had lived. This resolve, he continues, was actually carried out, beginning with Tiberias where he converted the unfinished Hadrianeum into a church. Epiphanius, himself of Jewish origin from southern Palestine, reports that he had heard this from Joseph himself when the latter, in his seventies, was living in retirement in Scythopolis (Beth Shean), shunned by the dominant Arian population of the city (*Patrologia graeca* 41:409–27).

On the basis of this report we would have to conclude that the first Christian church in Capernaum was built during or shortly after the reign of Constantine who did, of course, embark on an ambitious program of church building in Palestine. It is also possible, however, that Count Joseph's program aimed at establishing orthodox Christianity in places where less orthodox varieties had existed for some time (Avi-Yonah 1976a: 167–69), an alternative that would be more in accord with literary and archaeological evidence presently available. But Epiphanius' account is so full of the fanciful and improbable—whether attributable to the author or to his aged informant, or both—that it is difficult to know what to make of it. It is also self-contradictory, since Joseph is presented as a surreptitious eyewitness of the deathbed conversion of the patriarch Hillel II by the bishop of Tiberias at a time when, as Epiphanius elsewhere notes, there were none but Jews in the city. It would therefore be risky to make too much of this rambling digression, in the absence of confirmation from other sources.

Such confirmation is often found in one of the earliest and most interesting of pilgrim reports, that of the wealthy and pious Egeria who visited Palestine between the years A.D. 381 and 384. Since from now on we will be dealing with such reports for the most part, a word of caution is in order at the outset. It must first be noted whether they were written by the pilgrim in question or whether they derive from another person reporting on the pilgrim's behalf (as in the case of Arculf, to be considered shortly). It would also be prudent to inquire how much time had elapsed between the journey and the report. One's own experience teaches how easy it is to forget or misplace some detail after the passage of several years. More important still is it to determine, where possible, if the pilgrim actually visited the place in question and, if so, how he or she obtained the information recorded. It became

more and more common, in cases where travel to outlying places (like Capernaum) was too difficult or dangerous, simply to reproduce a conventional guide book summary. A good part of the pilgrimage literature, especially for the area around the Sea of Galilee, is made up of these *catenae* of set pieces, transmitted in some cases over several centuries. We must also allow for the practice of taking the pilgrim to some convenient and prominent look-out point from which several "holy places" could be viewed without taking the time or trouble to visit each one individually.

Returning to Egeria, it is important first to note that the long and detailed account of her pilgrimage does not contain a record of her visit to Capernaum. Some of the gaps in her narrative can, however, be filled in with the help of a book on the holy places written in 1137 by Peter the Deacon, a monk of Monte Cassino. Peter, who as far as we know never visited Palestine, drew on several sources including Egeria, arranging his material according to the chapters of Bede's *De Locis Sacris*, a popular guide book of the early 8th century A.D. Chapter 16 of Bede's work describes Mount Tabor, and to it Peter added the following description of Capernaum:

> In Capernaum, however, a church has been made out of the house of the prince of the apostles, the original walls of which are still today standing. There the Lord healed the paralytic. There also is the synagogue in which the Lord healed the demoniac; you go up to it by many steps. This synagogue is made of dressed stones (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 39:112; Baldi 1935: 229; Wilkinson 1971: 194-96).

It is generally assumed that here, as elsewhere, Peter was drawing on a lost section of Egeria's narrative. This is possible but unfortunately cannot be proved. There is also the likelihood of editorial embellishments; it is highly improbable, for example, that Egeria would have spoken of "the prince of the apostles." If, however, the notice is from Egeria, we have the interesting problem of reconciling it with the results of the Franciscan excavations in and near the synagogue and the octagonal structure to the south. Following the chronology proposed by V. C. Corbo, Egeria would have been shown the *domus ecclesia* (Stratum II) elaborated on the basis of what Corbo took to be the house of Peter adapted to cultic use as early as the 1st century A.D. (*Cafarnao* I: 71-74).

As for the synagogue, one city block to the north, the late 4th century A.D. date proposed for its construction would imply that Egeria arrived when it was actually being built or, surely more probably, shortly before construction began (Loffreda 1973: 36-42; *Cafarnao* I: 168).

In the present state of our knowledge, the chronological problems raised by these recent excavations on the site are not likely to be solved to everyone's satisfaction. Egeria would have visited the town during the reign of Theodosius I when the building of synagogues was not only prohibited but existing synagogues were being burnt by Christian mobs. If the magnificent synagogue at the western end of the town was being built then, or very soon afterwards, and within such close proximity to a venerable Christian shrine, Capernaum must have been a quite remarkable exception to the general rule.

Another high-ranking matron passed through Capernaum a few years after Egeria (ca. A.D. 386-387). This was Paula, friend of Jerome, who visited the Christian sites by the lake in too great a hurry to record any detail of interest. In a letter written after her death to her daughter Eustochium, Jerome recalls that Paula "cito itinere percucurrit Nazaram . . . Canam et Capharnaum, signorum eius familiares" (*Patrologia latina* 22:889; Stewart 1887: 14). From then until the reign of Justinian (A.D. 527-565) we have no pilgrim reports or Holy Land guide books that mention the place. An Aramaic inscription in the mosaic floor of the Hammat Gader synagogue commemorates the gift of a certain Yoseh son of Dositheus of Capernaum. Sukenik (1934) dated the synagogue to the early 5th century A.D., but there is reason to believe that it is from the early decades of the

following century, shortly before the accession of Justinian, a period to which several other synagogues can be assigned (Avi-Yonah 1976a: 238; 1976b: 472–73).

We must suppose that for Yoseh and his fellow Jews of Capernaum, as for Palestinian Jews in general, the reign of Justinian marked a definite downturn in their situation. If the great limestone synagogue has been correctly dated by its most recent excavators, there must have been a large and prosperous Jewish community in the town well into the 5th century A.D. Within the space of another century, however, the Christian population would almost certainly have predominated. A guide for pilgrims written early in the reign of Justinian—*De Situ Terrae Sanctae* by a certain Theodosius, about whom nothing is known—locates accurately the places to visit around the Sea of Galilee but, surprisingly, fails to mention the "attractions" of Capernaum:

> From Scythopolis it is twenty-four miles to the Sea of Tiberias on which the Lord Jesus Christ walked. From Tiberias to Magdala, where St. Mary was born, is two miles. From Magdala to the Seven Fountains, where the Lord Christ baptized the apostles, and where also he fed the people with five loaves and two fishes, is two miles. From the Seven Fountains to Capernaum is two miles. From Capernaum it is six miles to Bethsaida, where were both the apostles Peter, Andrew, Philip, and the sons of Zebedee (*Corpus christianorum series latina* 115; Baldi 1935: 297; Wilkinson 1977: 63).

More informative is the diary of an anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza, author of one of the more entertaining records that has come down to us, who visited the area in about the year A.D. 570. His account is particularly valuable, since it is quite clear that he actually saw what he described. After passing through Tiberias he goes on to say that

> We came to Capernaum, to the house of blessed Peter, which is now a basilica. Thence passing through hamlets or villages or cities we came to the two sources, that is Jor and Dan, which join together and are called the Jordan (*Corpus christianorum series latina* 132, 159; Baldi 1935: 297; Wilkinson 1977: 6–7, 78–89).

The allusion to a basilica fits in neatly with the archaeological arguments for a 5th century A.D. octagonal church (Corbo's Stratum III); one, that is, which was built after Egeria's visit and before that of the anonymous Italian pilgrim. We thus have confirmation that Capernaum was a center of the veneration of Peter into the late Byzantine period. It is unfortunate that the few literary notices that we have assembled throw no light on the relative strength of the Jewish and Christian population of the town under Byzantine rule. All they provide is an imperfect control on the interpretation of the archaeological data even if, in the nature of things, such comparisons tend to raise as many questions as they prove capable of solving.

CAPERNAUM IN THE EARLY ARAB PERIOD (A.D. 640–1099)

During the early 7th century A.D. the hopes of Jewish communities in Palestine were roused by the success of Persian arms against the hated Byzantines. Our sources speak of Jewish uprisings in various cities, including Tiberias just 16 km. south of Capernaum (Avi-Yonah 1976a: 260–61). There is every reason to believe that Capernaum was affected by these events. It lay on the main invasion route of the Persian army as it advanced from Damascus to Tiberias, and then to Caesarea and Jerusalem. Christian communities had a hard time during the period from the invasion (A.D. 614) to the reconquest of the land by Heraclius (A.D. 629). Then, after a brief interlude, the westward advance of the Arab armies engulfed Galilee, following on the defeat of the Byzantine army on the Yarmuk in A.D. 636. Their victory marked the beginning of an entirely new epoch for both Jews and Christians in Palestine.

Unlike the Persian invasion, that of the Arabs resulted in little destruction, and they seem initially to have shown little inclination to introduce radical social and economic changes. The Umayyad Caliphate (A.D. 661–750), much more tolerant than the Byzantines, was responsible for a great increase in material prosperity. Wilson has shown that Capernaum was probably dependent on the Umayyad villa and estate at Khirbet Minyeh, less than 4 km. south of the town (see above, p. 163). After a half century or so of enhanced prosperity, it must have suffered severely from both the political chaos of the last years of Umayyad rule (A.D. 743–750) and the disastrous earthquake of 746 or 748, which caused extensive destruction in Tiberias (Kallner-Amiran 1950: 226; Dothan 1978: 1182–84). While no clear evidence of destruction due to earthquake has been recorded in the Franciscan area so far excavated (*Cafarnao* I: 169, 220), the possibility must be left open that the transition from Umayyad to Abbasid rule marked a decisive and fatal turning point in the life of the town.

We have one pilgrim report from the Umayyad period, from the pen of Adomnan, abbot of Iona, written some time in the eighth decade of the 7th century A.D. It is the record of a pilgrimage made by Arculf, a bishop of Gaul, who was the abbot's guest after his ship was driven onto the Scottish shore during the return voyage. Based on Arculf's own recollections, it was written up a short time after the bishop's departure. Arculf did not actually visit Capernaum but viewed it from a nearby hill:

> Those who, starting from Jerusalem, want to visit Capernaum must, as Arculf reports, take the straight road through Tiberias, then along Lake Kinnereth—also called the Sea of Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee—then through the aforementioned place of the blessing and then, not much further along the shore of the aforementioned lake, they will arrive at Capernaum, a lakeside town in the territory of Zabulon and Neptalim. Which town, as Arculf reports who viewed it from a nearby mountain, has no wall, is squeezed into a narrow space between the mountain and the lake, and extends a good distance along the seashore. It has the mountain on the north, the lake on the south, and extends from east to west (*Corpus christianorum series latina* 218; Baldi 1935: 297; Wilkinson 1977: 108).

This passage, reproduced in chapter 15 of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*, agrees very well with the situation of Tel Ḥum, but unfortunately provides no useful information apart from the absence of a wall. We can only speculate as to why the bishop did not take time to visit the town. He had a Burgundian monk with him who kept hurrying him along, but this did not prevent him from staying two days in Nazareth—another unwalled town—whose churches he described. He also took the trouble to climb Mount Tabor and spend the night in the monastery there. The attitude of the local Jewish population or the Islamic authorities may, perhaps, have discouraged visits by Christian pilgrims. It is also possible that Capernaum was not at that time considered a major attraction for pilgrims. Whatever the reason, it is unfortunate that he says nothing about the places of worship there, since he might have helped us solve a problem posed by the next report that we have to consider.

A guide book attributed to a certain Epiphanius, probably of the late 8th century A.D., includes an addition (of an even later date) describing the Christian "attractions" along the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. After visiting the spot where John baptized, the pilgrim "comes to the place Capernaum where our Christ and God lived. There stands the house of the Theologian, and it was there that the miracle of the centurion took place. There too they let down the paralytic from the roof with the pallet." The next stop on the tour, a mile further south, is where the woman with the issue of blood was healed, thence to the Heptapegon, Magdala, and Tiberias (Donner 1971: 78, 89; Wilkinson 1977: 11, 120, 198–99). The same account is reproduced, with embellishments, in an anonymous pre-Crusader *Life of Constantine*. It locates the Last Supper in the house of John the Theologian,

perhaps relying on John 13:23-5, and adds that Helena ordered churches to be built in Capernaum and nearby places (Baldi 1935: 298; Wilkinson 1977: 202-4).

The location of the house not of Peter but of John in Capernaum is also attested in the report of an English pilgrim of the late 8th century A.D. As a young man Willibald, nephew of Boniface apostle of Germany, made a pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land (ca. A.D. 724-727). More than half a century later he took time out from his pastoral duties as Bishop of Eichstadt to dictate an account of his travels to Hugeburc, a young English nun, who incorporated it into her biography of the prelate. From it we learn that Willibald and his party visited Tiberias where they saw a large number of churches and synagogues. They then traveled north to Magdala and thence "they arrived at that village called Capernaum where the Lord raised the daughter of the ruler and where there was a house and a big wall. The people there told them that Zebedee with his sons John and James used to live there. From there they went to Bethsaida whence came Peter and Andrew. There is a church there now where their house used to stand. After staying there one night, they continued on in the morning to Corazaim" (Baldi 1935: 266, 297-98; Brownlow 1895: 16; Wilkinson 1977: 11, 128, 206-8). An alternative version of the report confirms the existence of a house-church of Peter and Andrew at Bethsaida but speaks of the *tomb* of Zebedee at Capernaum ("ubi Zebedeus, pater Iacobi et Ioannis, requiescit," *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 289; Brownlow 1895: 43).

It must seem surprising that after the Arab conquest we hear no more of a house-church of Peter at Capernaum. It is possible, of course, that Willibald was simply mistaken. After all, he was in his eighties when he recalled the visit made more than fifty years earlier, and there is no other report of a church of Peter, or Peter and Andrew, at Bethsaida (see the relevant texts in Baldi 1935: 265-67). There is also the fact that the topographical tradition about the house of the Zebedee family has an unusually checkered history. Egeria—or the passage in Peter the Deacon thought to derive from her—locates it in Tiberias (*Corpus christianorum series latina* 98; Wilkinson 1977: 194); the 6th century A.D. report of Theodosius, in Bethsaida (Baldi 1935: 266); Willibald and Epiphanius, in Capernaum. The results of the Franciscan excavations published to date are also inconclusive in this respect. Corbo speculates that the synagogue may have been taken over for Christian use in the later Byzantine period and speaks of its destruction in the early Arab period (*Cafarnao* I: 169, 220). He says nothing about a similar destruction of the octagonal basilica of St. Peter, but concludes that the town met its end by slow depopulation rather than by a sudden destruction in the early 8th century A.D. (p. 220). The more recent excavations in the Greek Orthodox section to the east suggest rather a displacement of the settlement resulting from the political and natural disasters of that time. If this interpretation of the archaeological evidence is confirmed, it may provide the context for the hiatus in the topographical tradition at the end of the Byzantine period.

CRUSADER CAPERNAUM
(A.D. 1099-1291)

The two centuries that elapsed between the call to the first crusade of Urban II and the fall of Acco naturally witnessed a significant increase in pilgrimages to the holy places. While the Franciscan excavations have identified some slight indications of occupation, or reoccupation, in two of the *insulae* on their property (*Cafarnao* I: 221), it is clear that by then the town had sunk into relative insignificance. An inventory of churches drawn up for Charlemagne in the early 9th century A.D., for example, lists Nazareth, Tabor, Cana, Heptapegon, the Twelve Thrones (Dodekathronon), and Tiberias—but not Capernaum (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 299-305, 329-43). About twenty accounts mentioning Capernaum have come down to us from the

period of the Crusades, averaging roughly one a decade, but they do little more than document the final stages of decline, apart from adding to the confusion by coming up with another Capernaum on the Mediterranean coast. The first, that of Saewulf (A.D. 1102–1103), reports the existence of a beautiful but deserted church (*perpulchra quamvis deserta*) dedicated to St. Peter at the foot of the mountain on which the miracle of the multiplication of bread and fishes took place. This is the so-called "Table of the Lord" (*mensa Domini*), one of the required sights for Christian pilgrims. While Saewulf does not seem to be very clear on the topography of the region, he does distinguish the location of this church from Capernaum about which, however, he has nothing of value to report (Saewulf 1896: 20, 25–26, 44). Two or three years later a Russian abbot, Daniel, was in Palestine reporting on a Capernaum on the Mediterranean coast, not far from Atlit, "formerly a very important and populous town but at present deserted." This is probably the Kaniseh mentioned by the *savant* Mukaddasi towards the end of the 10th century A.D. (Le Strange 1896: 96). This "rogue" tradition is repeated often by medieval travelers, for example, Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1163), William of Tyre (A.D. 1182), and Vinisauf (A.D. 1192), but has no bearing on the Capernaum by the Sea of Galilee.

Whatever abbot Daniel thought of the alternative Capernaum, he does go on to mention the Capernaum of the gospels, but his topography is so confused that no secure conclusion can be based on it. Suffice it to note that he locates the house of Peter's mother-in-law and associated miracles in Tiberias and the house of John the Theologian in the village of Zebedee some distance from Capernaum (de Khitrowo 1889: 1–83, especially 53–54, 62–63). He certainly visited the region, but we have the impression that the local guides eased their own labors and those of their visitors by moving these pilgrim spots to more convenient locations.

Most of the reports from this period, and indeed earlier, draw on pilgrim guide books, which, for one reason or another, achieved wide dissemination. Hence the tedious repetition of stock phrases describing different "holy places" requiring attention in the region of the Sea of Galilee. Hence also the ease with which new and sometimes strange traditions were able to take root, for example, that of Khorazin as the birthplace of Antichrist, a tradition that, somewhat typically, abbot Peter transferred to the Mediterranean Capernaum (de Khitrowo 1889: 54). The guide book *catena* is clearly in operation in a work edited by Fetellus or Fretellus, archdeacon of Antioch, at the end of the 12th century A.D. The Sea of Galilee begins between Capernaum and Bethsaida; Capernaum is situated at the upper end of the sea; it is the city of the centurion; the Mount of the Beatitudes is two miles distant, and so on (Baldi 1935: 299; MacPherson 1896: 28). Much of the same appears in the descriptions of the Holy Land by two Würzburg pilgrims, John and Theoderic, from the sixties and seventies of the 12th century A.D. The former fills out the conventional account with an allegorical interpretation of Capernaum as "most beautiful house" (*villa pulcherrima*) or "daughter of beauty" (*filia pulchritudinis*), based on Jerome's commentary on Matt 11:24 that assumes a derivation from *kᵉfar naʿîm* (Tobler 1874: 187; Bulst 1976: 47; Stewart 1896a: 67–68; 1896f: 66; cf. Stewart 1894a: 54).

Most of the later travel reports provide no new information. It may be significant that one anonymous pilgrim of the 12th century A.D. does not list Capernaum among the holy places "which men worship beyond all others" (Stewart 1894a: 32–33). After visiting the Holy Land in the seventies or eighties of the 12th century A.D., John Phocas tells us that Sepphoris was almost entirely uninhabited, displaying not even a remnant of its former prosperity. He also provides some information on the contemporary state of Nazareth and Cana but fails us when he gets to Capernaum (Stewart 1896b: 12–13). It is safe to conclude that by that time the village was nearing the end of its days and was not considered worth a visit. In the second half of the 13th century A.D. the Domini-

can Burchard of Mount Zion is listing Capernaum among the cities of the Decapolis, an error perpetuated by later pilgrims such as Marino Sanutos in the 14th and John Poloner in the 15th century A.D. He does, however, tell us that "Capernaum, once a noble city, [is] now an exceeding mean one, scarce containing seven houses of poor fishermen" (*quondam gloriosa, sed nunc est valde vilis, vix habens septem domos pauperum piscatorum*)—a condition that he attributes to the commination of Jesus (Stewart 1896d: 6, 23, 28-29, 31, 41). This, then, was the condition of the place towards the end of the Crusader period.

THE FINAL PHASE OF THE TOWN'S HISTORY

Travelers in Palestine during the period of Mamluk rule (1250-1516) confirm the impression given by Burchard. After the expulsion of the Crusaders there was something of a revival of Jewish interest in visiting Eretz-Israel. Since the tradition of the prophet Nahum's grave was already well established—at al-Kosh, or alternatively, ʿAin Sifna in Kurdestan—the name of the village had to be associated with another venerated figure. Thus R. Isaac Chelo, who visited the place in 1333, was shown a tomb (perhaps the one just north of the Greek Orthodox property) believed to be that of Nahum the Elder. He also reported that the village was in ruins, which is what we would expect (Baldi 1935: 301; Zunz 1875: 170). As early as 1215, however, we begin to hear the name Tanḥum in the region of Tiberias, site of Rabbi Tanḥuma's grave. This allusion, in a work of Menahem ben Perez of Hebron (Zunz 1875: 168; Sapir and Neʾeman 1967: 30), seems to point to Capernaum, and the identification is explicit in Estori b. Moshe ha-Parḥi writing in 1322 (Zunz 1875: 170-73; Sapir and Neʾeman 1967: 30). The Arabic Tel Ḥum can very readily be explained as a corruption of Tanḥum.

Other medieval visitors record the same impression of an almost solitary ruin. The Italian Niccolo da Poggibonsi in the early 14th century, found it "completely undone and knocked down to the ground" (*quasi tutta disfatta e per terra abattuta*), a condition that he attributed to the words of Jesus (Baldi 1935: 302). About the middle of the century the German pastor Ludolph, of the diocese of Paderborn, lists Capernaum among Galilean pilgrim towns practically deserted at that time (Stewart 1895: 123). The same condition is reported by Francesco Suriano about 1485; however, he adds somewhat inconsistently, that it was inhabited by the "bad people of that region" (*la mala gente de quel paese*), namely, the Muslims (Baldi 1935: 302). These "bad people" keep on cropping up in medieval pilgrim reports. An earlier visitor, James of Verona (A.D. 1335), surprisingly speaks of Capernaum as "a large and beautiful village" (*villa pulchra et magna*) that was difficult to visit since the local Saracens were not well disposed to Christian pilgrims (Baldi 1935: 301). His topographical directions—ten miles beyond Tiberias—favor Tel Ḥum, but one wonders whether reports about the inhospitable locals did not deter him from visiting the place and ascertaining its true condition. The same problem confronted Felix Fabri and his party in the 15th century. During a visit to Jerusalem in or shortly after 1480, they debated whether to take the trip into Galilee to visit the holy places, including Capernaum. They were dissuaded from doing so on account of the hostility of the native Muslims (Stewart 1893: 108-9).

Other medieval visitors to the site can be mentioned—Ricoldus de Monte Crucis in 1294 (Baldi 1935: 301), pilgrims from England (Hoade 1952), Marino Sanuto (Stewart 1896e: 14-15, 32) and John Poloner (Stewart 1894b: 24, 35)—but they add nothing to what we have gleaned from the sources already noted. As we enter the 16th century and the long period of Turkish rule, Capernaum practically disappears from the map. Boniface de Stephanis, who visited around the middle of the 16th century, warned that the location is

difficult to find since the ruins were practically covered with earth and could be identified only by two palm trees growing there (Baldi 1935: 302). Later in the same century we hear of a few Arab hovels on the site and a small fort with a detachment of three or four Turkish soldiers to guard the crossing of the Jordan (Baldi 1935: 303). This last notice warns us that the identification of Capernaum may already have become a matter for speculation. By the early 17th century, at any rate, the identification with Khan Minyeh (Khirbet Minyeh) was already established, appearing for the first time, as it seems in the report of Francis Quaresimi in 1626 (Baldi 1935: 303). Forty-two years later Michael Nau had better advice from the local beduin. Pressing on through the rain, he arrived at Tel Ḥum where he noted the extensive ruins with broken columns, friezes, and capitals and the outlines of a church and another large public building (Baldi 1935: 303-4). This corresponds more or less with the scene that greeted Edward Robinson early on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 20, 1838, and that he, as we now know mistakenly, took to be the ruins of Khorazin.

10

historical summary

Vassilios Tzaferis

The first five seasons of excavations conducted within the area belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church at Capernaum have yielded significant archaeological information on rural settlement in Northern Palestine, and specifically on the history of settlement on that site during the Byzantine and Early Arab periods. Archaeological knowledge of the material culture and fortunes of the Byzantine settlement in Palestine following the Muslim Conquest in A.D. 630 is still scant. This situation derives from circumstances that need not concern us here, although, in fact, scholarly interest in the post-Byzantine era itself is rather scanty. Further, the poor preservation of remains from that period often preclude deep, satisfactory research. That Early Arab remains form the uppermost stratum of settlement on many sites has exposed this material in particular to the ravages of nature and humans. As a result of this general lack of archaeological knowledge, it is commonly held that rural settlement in Palestine, particularly in Galilee, was dealt a severe blow during, and possibly even as a result of, the Muslim Conquest.[1]

This picture is now gradually changing, with the advance of archaeological research at several sites. Indeed, the Muslim Conquest did bring about a severe crisis, which was caused in part also by the Persian incursion some years prior. However, this crisis, as we now know, did not especially hit rural settlement per se, but rather left its imprint on social and religious life. Recently, in excavations at sites on both banks of the Jordan river, very interesting material from the Early Arab period has been coming to light, finds that are now recognized for their archaeological worth.[2]

Despite the fact that this material is not especially rich, it is sufficient to enable a fairly clear picture to be constructed of Roman-Byzantine settlements in Palestine. These settlements

[1] Avi-Yonah 1966: 124; Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 24.

[2] The various finds uncovered in recent excavations, including the architectural remains, are to be found, e.g., in Ben-Dov 1971; Ben-Tor et al. 1979: 72-73, fig. 4; McNicoll et al. 1982: 123-57; and Tushingham 1972.

are now seen to have continued to flourish, even after the Muslim Conquest. More precisely, the 7th–8th centuries A.D.—under the Umayyad and early Abbasid dynasties—were times of economic and cultural prosperity in Palestine. Indeed, the archaeological evidence from Capernaum fully bears this out, as can be seen from the report in this volume.

Archaeological surveys and studies undertaken up till a few years ago in the area of Capernaum belonging to the Franciscan Order—mainly in the central quarters of the settlement, including the famous synagogue and the Byzantine church—have yielded most significant results. It appears that that part of ancient Capernaum ceased to be settled during the 7th century A.D. or, according to the excavators there, toward the end of that century.[3] In contrast, excavations in the area under Greek Orthodox control, as well as the most recent excavations in the Franciscan area, in the last two years, have revealed quite different results.[4] On the basis of this most recent evidence, the settlement on the site can be seen to have continued even after the 7th century A.D., ceasing only some 400 years later, in the mid-11th century A.D. In both of these recent excavations, it was demonstrated that the post-7th century A.D. settlement stood in part on virgin soil and in part over earlier remains.

How can these different pictures be reconciled? In other words, how could there be a picture of abandonment, including abandonment of religious structures, alongside the rise of new quarters at seemingly one and the same time? This apparent discrepancy could possibly be explained by regarding them as the result of specific historical events, or they could be associated with some natural catastrophe that befell the settlement during the 7th century A.D. However, even prior to discussing such an event, which brought about so dramatic a crisis in the life of ancient Capernaum, two problems deriving from the excavations in the Franciscan area of the site must be clarified.

The first problem concerns the exact point in time at which the synagogue, the church, and the adjacent residential quarter were abandoned. According to the excavators there, this occurred at the end of the 7th century A.D. This dating is based on the archaeological evidence, including the pottery and coins from the Early Arab period.[5] Outwardly, this evidence seems decisive but, surprisingly, the finds include no actual, related architectural remains of the same phase—the beginning of the Early Arab period. If so, and lacking any such solid evidence, the dating of the Franciscan excavators concerning the continuation of settlement following the Byzantine period cannot be upheld. Ceramic and numismatic evidence alone cannot, of course, prove the existence or absence of settlement on a given site, unless they are accompanied by substantial architectural evidence. Lacking any such decisive evidence to the contrary, it can thus be assumed that the synagogue, church, and adjacent residential quarter were abandoned not at the beginning of the Early Arab period, but even prior, possibly at the very beginning of the 7th century A.D.

The second problem concerns the nature of the abandonment of parts of Capernaum. According to the Franciscan excavations, there was a gradual decline in the Roman-Byzantine settlement, rather than an actual, sudden abandonment as a result of some violent event or catastrophe. In light of the most recent excavations, this view would also be difficult to sustain. Moreover, it would be difficult to explain such a gradual decline, on the one hand, and the rise of new, flourishing quarters, on the other hand, in one and the same period of time.

[3] See *Cafarnao* I: 217–23.

[4] From 1974 on, the Franciscans have renewed their excavations at Capernaum, in the areas to the north of the synagogue, where they have found the remains of settlement from the end of the Byzantine period and the Early Arab period. See Corbo 1983.

[5] *Cafarnao* I: 220.

It would be much more logical to assume that the Byzantine settlement at Capernaum was abandoned as a result of human destruction or natural catastrophe. In accord with this, the remains discovered outside the region of the synagogue and church could be interpreted in two ways: *(a)* they belonged to a settlement that was rebuilt by the previous inhabitants; or *(b)* they belonged to a new settlement that was built by new settlers. The second assumption appears more reasonable in the light of the fact that neither the synagogue nor the church was in use within the framework of this new settlement.

On the basis of these data, we can sum up by stating that during the first half of the 7th century A.D., following upon some historical event or natural catastrophe, the Byzantine settlement at Capernaum was abandoned, including the synagogue and the church; in its stead a new settlement arose of a plan, character, and population different from its predecessor.

But what actually happened at Capernaum at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., and what event occurred to change life on the site so drastically? In answering this, we must keep in mind three important facts concerning the Roman-Byzantine settlement at Capernaum. First, Capernaum as almost entirely Jewish until the 4th-early 5th centuries A.D. with only a small group of Christians (mainly Judeo-Christians) who had settled there already in the 1st-2nd centuries A.D.[6] Second, the unusual size and magnificence of the synagogue indicate a large, prosperous Jewish community supported by trade, fishing, and agriculture. The archaeological evidence from the Franciscan excavations would support a date in the 4th or 5th century A.D. for the building of the synagogue, perhaps in reaction to the large-scale construction of churches throughout Palestine during those centuries. Third, the location of the Byzantine church at Capernaum, adjacent to the synagogue, does not necessarily prove the existence of a large or small local Christian community. The peculiar plan and unusual features of the church (for example, the baptismal font within the apse) are indicative of a shrine (the house of St. Peter) rather than a community church.

But what was happening in Palestine during the first three decades of the 7th century A.D., particularly in relation to events at Capernaum? Undoubtedly the most dramatic disruption of Christian life was caused by the Persian invasion in A.D. 614, and the subsequent fifteen-year occupation. One immediate result was the elimination of Byzantine-Christian rule; this led to an increase in religious and nationalist aspirations among the non-Christian inhabitants, who were hostile to Byzantine authority. These included the Jews, who viewed the Persian invasion as an opportunity to free themselves from oppressive Byzantine domination.

To this end there was Jewish cooperation with the Persians: contemporaneous literary sources mention a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Jews and the Persians. Whether true or not, the Jews surely participated in the destruction of many Christian churches and sites, particularly those in areas with large Jewish communities, such as in Galilee.

If the Persians penetrated Palestine from the north—via Damascus, the Golan, and Tiberias—then Capernaum would have been one of the first sites to have been affected. It is probable that the Jews there, under Persian protection, then demolished the church and other Christian places. These buildings were never rebuilt, and the small Judeo-Christian community may have been extirpated during the course of the devastation. This group had always been an object of

[6] During the first centuries of Christianity, up to the 5th century A.D., the Christian community of Capernaum remained quite small. The proselyte Joseph Comes sought to bolster and expand, and apparently even succeeded in building a church there. His story is related by the 5th-century A.D. church father Epiphanius (*Patrologia graeca* 41: 407–11). For the Christians of ancient Capernaum, called "heretics" in the Jewish sources, see Sapir and Ne'eman 1967: 19–21; for the archaeological evidence concerning the earliest Christians there, see *Cafarnao* IV.

condemnation by the Jews as heretics and might have been cut off long before, but until the 7th century A.D. they were "tolerated" because of Christian domination.

In the spring of A.D. 629, however, the Byzantines recovered and the Emperor Heraclius triumphantly re-entered Palestine, seeking revenge. Capernaum was again one of the first sites to be affected, and it was probably now that the synagogue was demolished and the Jewish inhabitants expelled or even exterminated. Hence, both the Christian sanctuary and the Jewish synagogue came to violent ends within a span of fifteen years. The remainder of the town was also destroyed and never resettled.

Immediately following these events, during the brief period of Byzantine recovery, but prior to the arrival of the Muslims, a new town of entirely different plan was constructed, east of the earlier town. This historical picture corresponds with the archaeological evidence from both the Franciscan and the Greek Orthodox excavations.

The extension of research, in both the Franciscan and the Greek Orthodox areas, has yielded many new details on the extent of the settlement in various periods. As noted, Capernaum in the 7th century A.D. lay mostly in previously unsettled areas spreading north and east of the synagogue area. Since no ancient remains have been found to the west of that area, while on the south potential settlement is restricted by the lake, it would seem that the settled area prior to the 7th century A.D. was limited to a short, narrow strip (ca. 350 × 500 m.); that is, to an area not exceeding 17,000 m^2. Deducting from this total the area of public buildings such as the synagogue, the church, the streets and squares proper, an area of only some 10,000 m^2 remained for dwellings. In such an area, a population of only about 1,500–2,000 could have lived. Such a settlement can hardly be considered a true town.[7]

In decided contrast, the settlement of the 7th century A.D. was several times larger, in both extent and population, based on the density of building as revealed in the excavations. All the evidence points to a settlement spreading over the entire area presently owned by the Greek Orthodox Church—some 25,000 m^2, as well as over a good portion of the area north of the synagogue, where the Franciscans are continuing their archaeological work.

It is difficult to ascertain the composition of the population at Capernaum subsequent to the Byzantine period, though it certainly differed from that on the site in Roman-Byzantine times. We could go further and say that changes in population at Capernaum began even prior to the 7th century A.D., possibly during the 5th–6th centuries A.D. Based on the literary evidence, Capernaum preserved its Jewish character until at least the 4th century A.D.[8] The demographic changes that began in Palestine in general, and in Galilee in particular, during the late 5th–6th centuries A.D., certainly did not bypass Capernaum. It can be assumed that in these two centuries there was a massive influx of Christians at Capernaum, as at other sites.[9] A decisive change took place

[7] The literary sources do not agree on the status of ancient Capernaum as a town or a village. Thus, for instance, Josephus referred to it as a village (*Vita* 72) whereas in the gospels it is called a town. It should be remembered that the New Testament does not make a clear-cut distinction between town and village, generally calling every settlement a town. Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, refers to Capernaum as a village (Klosterman 1904: 120:2; 174:55), whereas Jerome, who translated the *Onomasticon* into Latin, called it a town (*Patrologia latina* 22: 889).

[8] The Jewish character of Capernaum is not in doubt, at least until the mid-5th century A.D.; this is clear from the literary sources. Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, states explicitly that in his day, in the 4th century A.D., Jews inhabited Capernaum (see above, n 7). Further, the story of Epiphanius, of the same general period, leaves little doubt that a majority of the inhabitants there were Jews (see above, n 6).

[9] Massive Christian infiltration into the rural communities of Palestine, especially into those of Galilee, began in practical terms at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Within a short time there was a Christian majority in Palestine for the first time. Concerning the pace of Christianization in Palestine, it is noteworthy that during

in the 7th century A.D. If our assumptions concerning the course of events at Capernaum during the first half of the 7th century A.D. are correct, then the Byzantine authorities certainly made efforts to settle primarily Christians at this site. The abandonment of the synagogue and its not having been reused after the 7th century A.D., on the one hand, and the absence of any other structure that could have served as an alternative for it, on the other hand (so far no such building has come to light, and it is doubtful whether one will), point to a new population that had no use for a synagogue. The conclusions to be derived from this are obvious.

The literary sources would indicate that in the period following the Muslim Conquest there was at Capernaum a church dedicated to John Theologos, that is, to John the Apostle.[10] This church was definitely not built to commemorate some holy Christian site (though it also served such a purpose), but was intended primarily to serve the religious needs of the local Christian community.

The archaeological results in both areas of the site do not, at present, fully verify the above assumptions, but they do largely bolster them (cf., for example, the bowl bases impressed with Christian symbols, and the engraved gemstone with the monogram of Christ; cf. figs. 42.49; 72.71; plate 2a, d).[11]

The architectural remains so far uncovered reveal a clearly new settlement plan. This new settlement seems to show an overall plan including broad, straight streets crisscrossing the town. An extensive sewage network for drainage lay beneath the streets. Construction was done in roughly hewn stones, with a thin overlay of white plaster. The floors were of the same type of plaster. The houses were large, and several of them (though not all) were of two stories, in the tradition of Southern Syria, the Golan, and Galilee in Roman-Byzantine times.[12]

The transition from Stratum V to Stratum IV (that is, from the Byzantine to the Early Arab period) does not find expression in any drastic changes, in either general plan of

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the days of the Apostles, nine new Christian communities/congregations were founded; during the 2d century A.D., only one new community/congregation; and in the 3d century A.D., another eight. During the 4th century A.D., however, eighteen new communities/congregations were added, and in the first half of the 5th century A.D., fifty-eight new communities/congregations at the same time. Such a picture is also received by comparing Eusebius' list of toponyms in his *Onomasticon*, with Jerome's Latin version, of less than a century later. Eusebius mentions only three Christian villages, whereas Jerome adds a long list of church buildings and numerous Christian holy sites (see Avi-Yonah 1962: 89-91). Recent archaeological evidence confirms this picture. Of all the churches uncovered in Palestine, 90% are of the 4th-6th centuries A.D., whereas in Galilee no church of a date prior to the 5th century A.D. has come to light.

[10] The Christian traveler Epiphanius Monachos, who visited the Holy Land in the 9th century A.D., relates that at Capernaum he saw a Christian church dedicated to "John Theologos." According to him, this church was erected at the very spot where Jesus healed a paralytic (Matt 9:2-8; Mark 2:1-2). This same church is referred to in a 10th-century A.D. essay known as *St. Helenae et Constantini Vitae. . . .* (in Baldi 1935: 375).

[11] The Franciscans discovered a large quantity of bowls and bowl fragments of various types known generally as "Late Roman Ware." On the bases of these bowls are impressed depictions and motifs, including some of decidedly Christian aspect, such as the cross and the "Good Shepherd." These bowls are dated to the Byzantine period, that is, to the 6th century A.D. (*Cafarnao* II: 75-88). Bowls of this type continue in the Early Arab period as well, and several such sherds were also discovered in the present excavations (see above, pp. 40-41). The use of this type of bowl, decorated with Christian symbols, points to the fact that Capernaum was inhabited by numerous Christians in the 6th century A.D. The continued use of such bowls in the Early Arab period indicates the continued presence of Christians there even after the end of the Byzantine period. Further evidence of this can be seen in a gemstone bearing an incised monogram of Christ (*Chi-Rho*; see plate 2d).

[12] The most common type of house in Syria and Palestine during the Roman-Byzantine period had a forecourt and an upper story (see Butler 1909: 120-21; Tchalenko 1935: 1. 9-10; 2. pls. V, XCV; Krautheimer 1963: 106-7; Meyers et al. 1976: 108-12; Meyers and Barag 1977: 860-62; *Samaria* I: 173-74). The dwellings discovered in Galilee and the Golan from the period following the Muslim Conquest and until Mamluk times show the continued use of Byzantine building traditions (see Harding 1951: 7-9; Tushingham 1972).

the town or in the plans and internal arrangement of the dwellings. The settlement continued to exist on the same general lines fixed at the end of the Byzantine period. It would seem also that the composition of the population remained static. Here and there new rooms or courtyards were added, and occasionally the larger rooms were divided into smaller units. These modifications are further evidence of the increase in population, not necessarily of a different lifestyle.

The most obvious (and only) innovation in Stratum IV is the paving of the rooms and courtyards with large flagstones. These stone pavements were generally laid down directly over the floors of the previous stratum—a fact possibly indicating a quiet transition, with no serious internal disturbances.

The archaeological evidence fits in well with the general historical situation prevailing in Syria and Palestine at the time of the Muslim Conquest and in the Umayyad period. It appears that the Arab conquerors only slightly interfered with the daily life and social organization of the conquered local population. The conquerors did not at all intervene in religious or cultural matters, and changed nothing. The general population, and especially the rural population, was able to conduct a more or less normal life and continued to enjoy the same economic prosperity that saw its beginnings in Byzantine times. The internal needs of the conquerors—including, inter alia, the regularized collection of taxes and a regular supply of provisions for the Arab army—forced the new rulers to keep the previous system of life intact and even to encourage further agricultural activity.[13]

[13] The Muslim Conquest of Palestine did not lead to a rupture in daily life. In the numerous descriptions written by Christians, as well as in early Arabic sources, there is no mention of any mass slaughter or forceful expulsion of local inhabitants. Quite the contrary, the conquerors sought to maintain normal, unhindered life. The story of Omar concerning the conquest of Jerusalem, and his attitude toward the Christian communities there is most significant (see Prawer 1981: 29–31).

The Capernaum of the late 7th century and the early 8th century A.D.—like the Byzantine settlement—flourished primarily through agriculture. The farm established at about this same time in the Ginosar Plain, with the villa-palace of Khan Minyah at its center, undoubtedly supplied work for most of Capernaum.[14] The large number of querns, pithoi for storing grain or other agricultural products, and various agricultural implements such as sickles discovered in the excavations, all point to the agricultural character of the settlement at the end of the Byzantine period and in the Early Arab period.

The next most important occupation at Capernaum, after agriculture, was fishing. The proverbially rich fishing of the northern part of the Sea of Galilee, where Capernaum is situated, also contributed to the prosperity of the town. It can be assumed that a considerable part of the local population was engaged in fishing, on the basis of the large number of fishhooks and lead sinkers found in the excavations. Moreover, the ponds discovered in Area D of our excavations—which certainly served for storing catches of fish—show that fishing was no mere amateur pastime, but a profitable occupation.[15]

Commerce also occupied an important place within the economic system of the town in the Early Arab period, as it did in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The major roads that had "always" passed this site, linking Phoenicia and Northern Palestine with the south, and Syria on the east with the coastal towns on the west, continued to be used, possibly

[14] Grabar 1973: 32; on Khirbet Minyeh, see Grabar et al. 1960: 240–41.

[15] Fishing was an important economic factor for most of the settlements on the shores of the Sea of Galilee in antiquity, as it is in modern times. The more organized communities, in order to facilitate the industry, built regular ports, with adjacent installations for storing and selling catches. So far, several such fishing ports have been noted, mainly in the northern part of the lake, including Kursi, Kefar Akabia, Capernaum, Tabgha, and Magdala (Migdal) (see Nun 1974). The most interesting such port, with fishponds, was discovered at Kursi (see Tzaferis 1983: 41).

even more intensely than in earlier times; this can be inferred from the fact that all the geographical region encompassing the entire Middle East was now under a single authority—the rule of Islam.

The inhabitants of Capernaum seem to have exploited this situation, and thus assured their economic well-being. Such prosperity is indicated by the renovations in the dwellings, the various building additions, the repaving in stone of earlier earth or plaster floors, the building of public fountains in the streets—all in Stratum IV.

Furthermore, the inhabitants of Capernaum not only lived quite well early in the Early Arab period, but were even able to amass property and wealth. The discovery of a hoard of gold dinars within one structure is fully indicative of this aspect. Since archaeological research into the Umayyad period is still in its infancy, similar conclusions are illusive concerning other settlements in Galilee, and in the immediate vicinity of Capernaum. In recent years, several sites containing rich remains from the end of the Byzantine period and the beginning of the Early Arab period have been excavated: Khorazin,[16] Magdala (Migdal),[17] Tiberias,[18] Ḥammat-Tiberias,[19] and Hammat-Gader,[20] but almost nothing of this material—which could greatly augment and complement this picture—has yet been published.

The Capernaum of Stratum IV was destroyed in its entirety. This thorough destruction was caused by some natural catastrophe, apparently an earthquake. In most of the structures uncovered in Areas A and C, the stones of the collapsed walls were found within the rooms and, in certain instances, fallen voussoirs were found resting in the order in which they had fallen. A huge rock was also found resting in the middle of Street 1, and it surely had not been placed there by human hands. It can be assumed that this rock tumbled down into the settlement from the hillside above, and subsequently could not be moved. During the rebuilding witnessed in Stratum III, the inhabitants of Capernaum simply left it in place, laying a new street pavement over it.

The earthquake that apparently led to the destruction of Stratum IV occurred, according to all the evidence, in the mid-8th century A.D. The latest coin included in the gold hoard was minted in A.D. 744, and hence it can be assumed that Stratum IV came to an end in that year or somewhat later. The literary sources mention a destructive earthquake that occurred between A.D. 746 and 747; it is noted as having wreaked havoc on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, at Hisham's Palace in Jericho (Khirbet Meſjer), and at Jerash, Tiberias, and other towns in Palestine.[21] In light of recent archaeological discoveries, traces of destruction at other sites around the Sea of Galilee can also be ascribed to this quake; for example, Kursi,[22] Sussita,[23] Ḥammat-Tiberias,[24] and Khorazin.[25]

[16] At that site, excavations were conducted during 1962-1964 and 1982 on. In the first period, finds from the Early Arab period were sparse (Yeivin 1973: 157); in the renewed excavations (still in progress), however, rich remains from this period are coming to light. When the associated finds are published, we will know more of the fate of that settlement subsequent to the Byzantine period.

[17] Manns et al. 1976.

[18] Within the urban area of Greater Tiberias, salvage and trial excavations have been conducted in recent years, all on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums. In these as yet unpublished excavations, rich finds from the Early Arab period were recovered, as well as material from Roman-Byzantine times.

[19] In light of the archaeological evidence uncovered in recent years at Ḥammat-Tiberias, adjacent to the town of Tiberias, it is now known that there had been a large, flourishing settlement throughout the Early Arab period (7th-9th centuries A.D.). The richest material came to light in 1983, in a salvage operation on the site, conducted by the Department of Antiquities and Museums, under the direction of A. On; the material is as yet unpublished. (The author wishes to thank the excavator for this interesting data.) Finds from this period have also come to light in earlier excavations on the site (see Oren 1971).

[20] Hirschfeld and Solar 1981; Green and Tsafrir 1982; Hasson 1982.

[21] Kallner-Amiran 1950, 1952.

[22] The destruction of the site in the first half of the 8th century A.D.,

The episode behind the hoard of gold dinars from Stratum IV was surely also related to dramatic events that befell Capernaum in the mid-8th century A.D., during the course of the internal warfare and difficult struggles accompanying the final years of the Umayyad dynasty, involving groups of Arab tribes. During these events, the owner of this wealth sought to secure his fortune, and the safest way was to hide it beneath the stone pavement of his house, as has been done by rural peoples in the Middle East since time immemorial, and is still done today. But some unknown factor prevented him from recovering his hoard. In the meantime, the earthquake covered the cache-spot over with a thick layer of rubble. When the builders of Stratum III began building over the ruins of Building A, little did they know that so valuable a hoard lay hidden below.

The town quickly recovered from the shock and destruction of the earthquake, and rebuilding and refurbishing soon began. Stratum III was built directly over the ruins of Stratum IV and represents the beginning of Abbasid rule in Palestine—a new era in the history of Capernaum. The new town plan, though it more or less assumed the basic lines of the two earlier strata, is indicative of a decline from the earlier prosperity. The streets became narrower, and the dwellings smaller and more densely built. The quality of construction declined; pottery and numismatic evidence are also less rich.

This picture deriving from the archaeological evidence of Stratum III is in agreement with the known political, social, and economic situation in the Syro-Palestine region under the Abbasid caliphate. A significant change occurred with the passing of the Umayyads, and with the shift of the seat of power from nearby Damascus to far-off Baghdad. The new situation boded ill for almost every sphere of life in Palestine. The new rulers actively intervened in local affairs in matters of religion, society, and economy. New taxes were levied on the non-Muslim population, affecting mainly the villagers and peasants, whose economic situation was already difficult.

Further, the unceasing internal strife, unrest, and bloody intrigues amongst the Arab tribes in Palestine under the Abbasids seriously disturbed the flow of rural life, and stable agricultural production in particular.[26] Moreover, with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty the exemplary agricultural estates, which had fostered rural agriculture and settlement, simply disappeared. This, in turn, led to the abandonment of such settlements as Sussita, Khorazin, Meiron, Khirbet Shema[c], Magdala (Migdal), and Beth-Saida. This trend even affected Christian holy sites, such as Kursi and Tabgha (Heptapegon).

In the mid-9th century A.D., Capernaum was destroyed once again, apparently as a result of the rebellions among the villages of Palestine, particularly in Galilee.[27] The archaeological evidence points to a general destruction, though

followed by its abandonment by the Christian inhabitants, was apparently caused by a well-known earthquake (see Tzaferis 1983: 17–18).

[23] The fine Christian basilica excavated at Sussita in 1952–1954 by C. Epstein was destroyed by this same earthquake (see Epstein 1976: 252); the excavator made no mention of this, however, but a visit to the site by the present author in 1983 yielded surface pottery of the Early Arab period. It is reasonable to assume that the basilica was destroyed in the mid-8th century A.D., possibly by the earthquake of A.D. 746–747.

[24] The destruction that brought Stratum IA at Capernaum to an end was also caused by an earthquake (see Dothan 1978: 1184).

[25] Excavations carried out at Khorazin in 1983–1985 have revealed clear evidence of destruction by an earthquake during the 8th century A.D. (The author wishes to thank Dr. Z. Yeivin, director of the excavations at Khorazin, for this information.)

[26] From A.D. 745 on—the reign of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwan II—the Arab tribes of Palestine were constantly in rebellion. During this unruly spell, two centers came into being, the one at Jerusalem and the other at Tiberias. During the course of the wars, which terminated in the victory of the army over the central authorities, many people were killed and numerous rebels were executed or exiled (see Hitti 1957: 541–44; Prawer 1981: 55, n 13).

[27] See Prawer 1981: 88; Hitti 1957: 541–44.

settlement on the site did not come to an end. Over the ruins of Stratum III, the new structures of Stratum II rose—dated to the period between the mid-9th and the mid-10th centuries A.D. The settlement of Stratum II differs entirely from its predecessor. This was actually a typical Arab village, with no predetermined plan. The houses were small and densely packed, and movement between them was through inner courtyards and narrow alleyways. The composition of the population may now also have changed, though there is no archaeological evidence for this. It can reasonably be assumed that, under political, social, and religious pressure, and out of economic need, the local population now submitted to Islam, as happened in most of the settlements of Palestine in this period.

The settlement represented by Stratum II thrived until the mid-10th century A.D., that is, until the rise of the Fatimids. Subsequently, Capernaum was again destroyed under unknown circumstances. During the second half of the 10th century A.D., settlement there was again renewed, but only for a short time. Stratum I, the poorest stratum on the site, represents the final village.

Life continued at Capernaum for less than a century, and during the 11th century A.D., prior to the appearance of the Crusaders, the village was abandoned—this time for good. The 11th century A.D. was a very difficult period in the history of Palestine, especially for the rural elements. The villages and towns of Galilee suffered in particular, and in this period many of them simply disappeared from the landscape. The final, fateful blow to rural settlement in Palestine, including Galilee, was dealt by the Turk (Khwarizmian) invasion of Palestine during the first half of the 11th century A.D. Besides this burden, Palestine was afflicted by another strong earthquake, resulting in widespread damage and suffering.[28]

Capernaum was finally abandoned, and its inhabitants apparently departed for urban centers, where life was more secure. And so, after a continuous existence of more than a thousand years, this town disappeared from the map of Palestine. The Crusaders arriving in the last year of the 11th century A.D. found the site abandoned and in ruins, as did Daniel, a Russian abbot who visited the Holy Land in A.D. 1106–1107. Daniel described ruined Capernaum as follows:

> [Capernaum] was formerly a very important and populous town, but at present it is deserted, and situated not far from the Great Sea. Of this Capernaum the prophet [that is, Jesus Christ; Matt 11:23; Luke 10:15] said, "Woe unto thee Capharnaum: Thou shalt be exalted to heaven, and thou shalt be brought down to the depths of hell."[29]

[28] On December 5, 1033, there occurred a strong earthquake—one of the strongest known in Palestine—affecting the entire country. It severely damaged, inter alia, Ramla, the coastal towns, Jerusalem, Nablus, Tiberias and its vicinity, and many other locations (see Prawer 1981: 117–18).

[29] Wilson 1895: 54.

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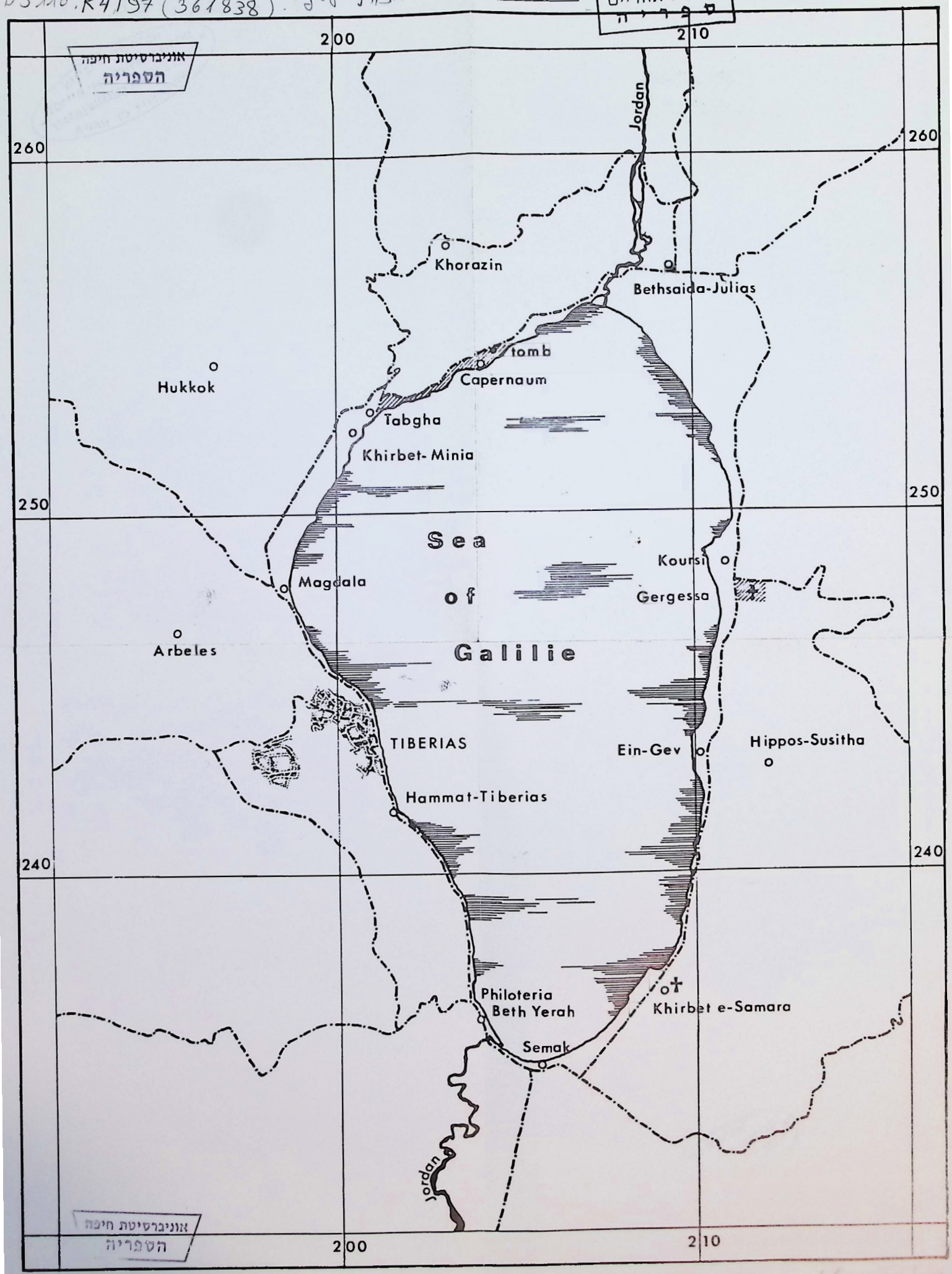

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הספריה

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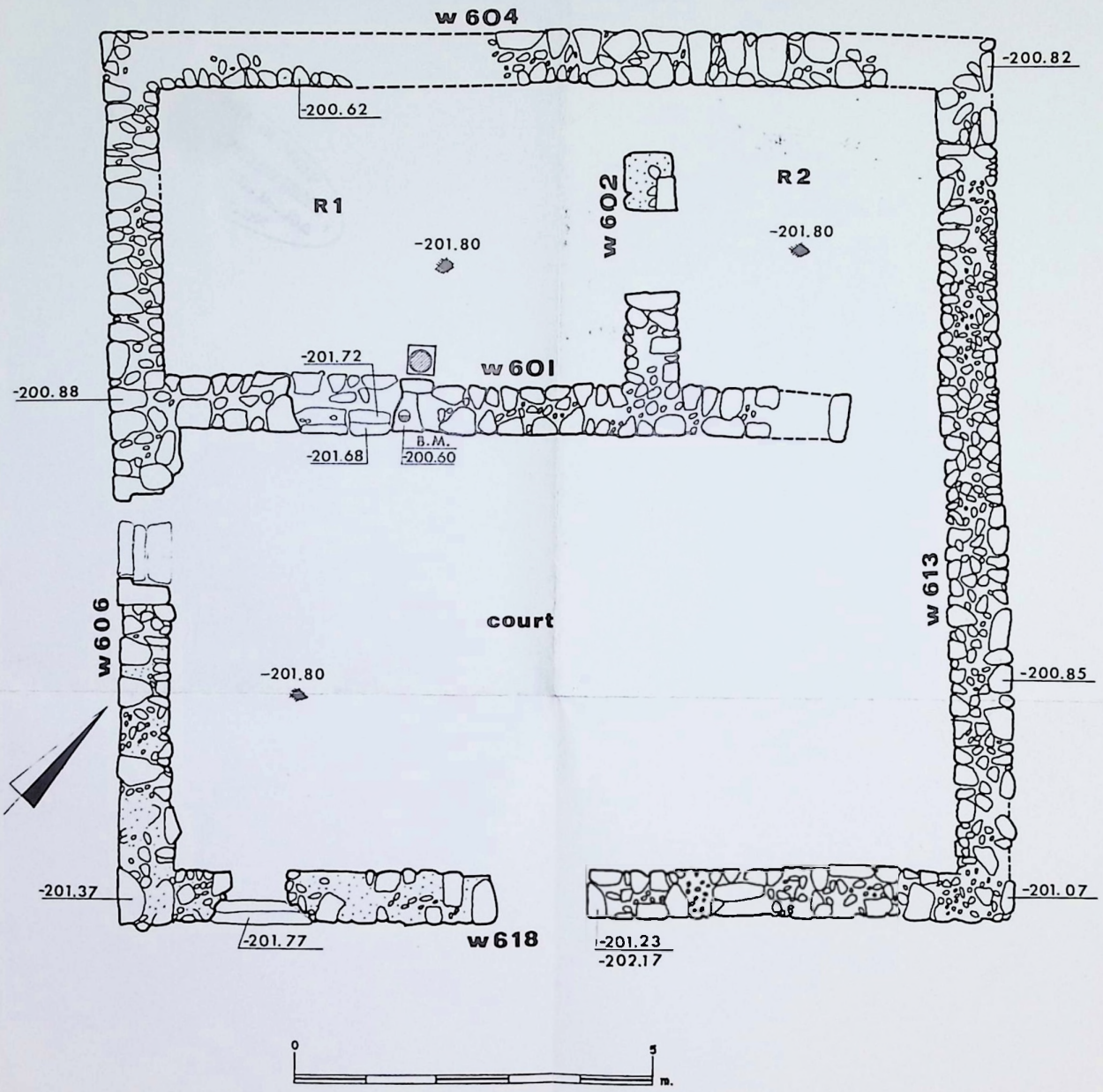
אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

Capernaum
Area C
Level V

למודים אזוריים
ספריה



אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN V

Capernaum
Area C
Level IV

למודים אזוריים
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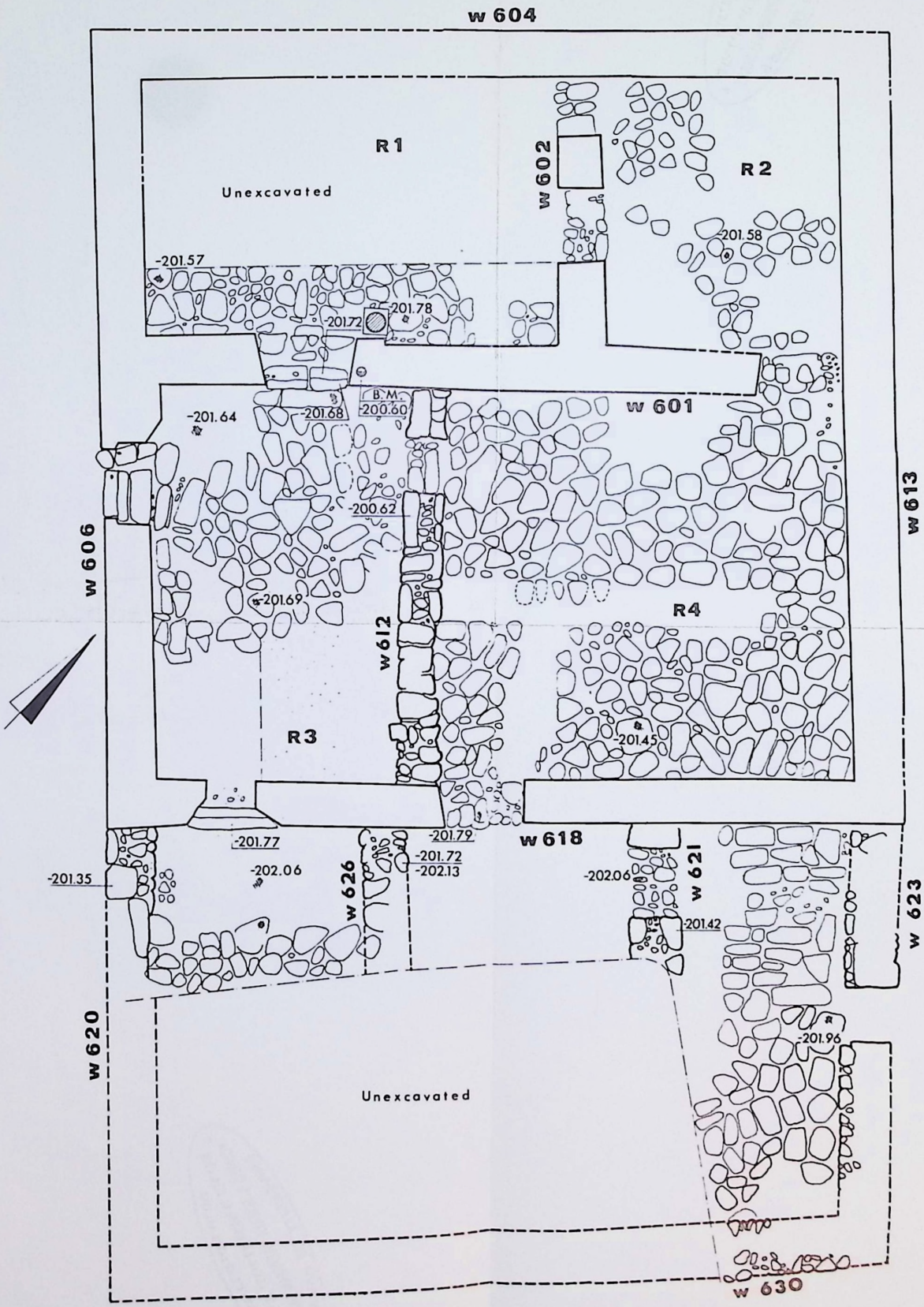

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הספריה

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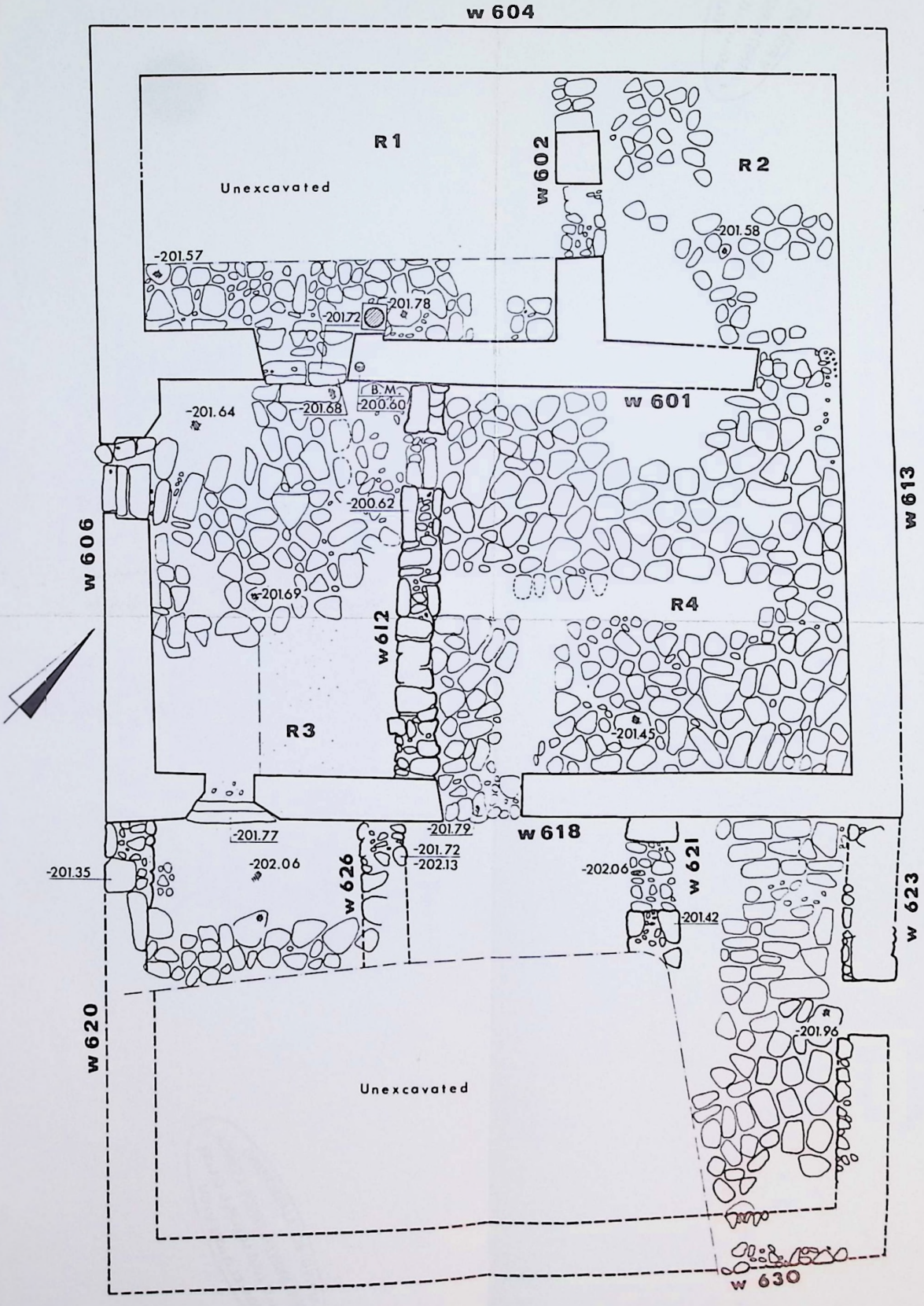
אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN V

Capernaum
Area C
Level IV

למודים אזוריים
ס פ ר י ה



אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN VI

Capernaum
Area C
Level III

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

למודים אזוריים
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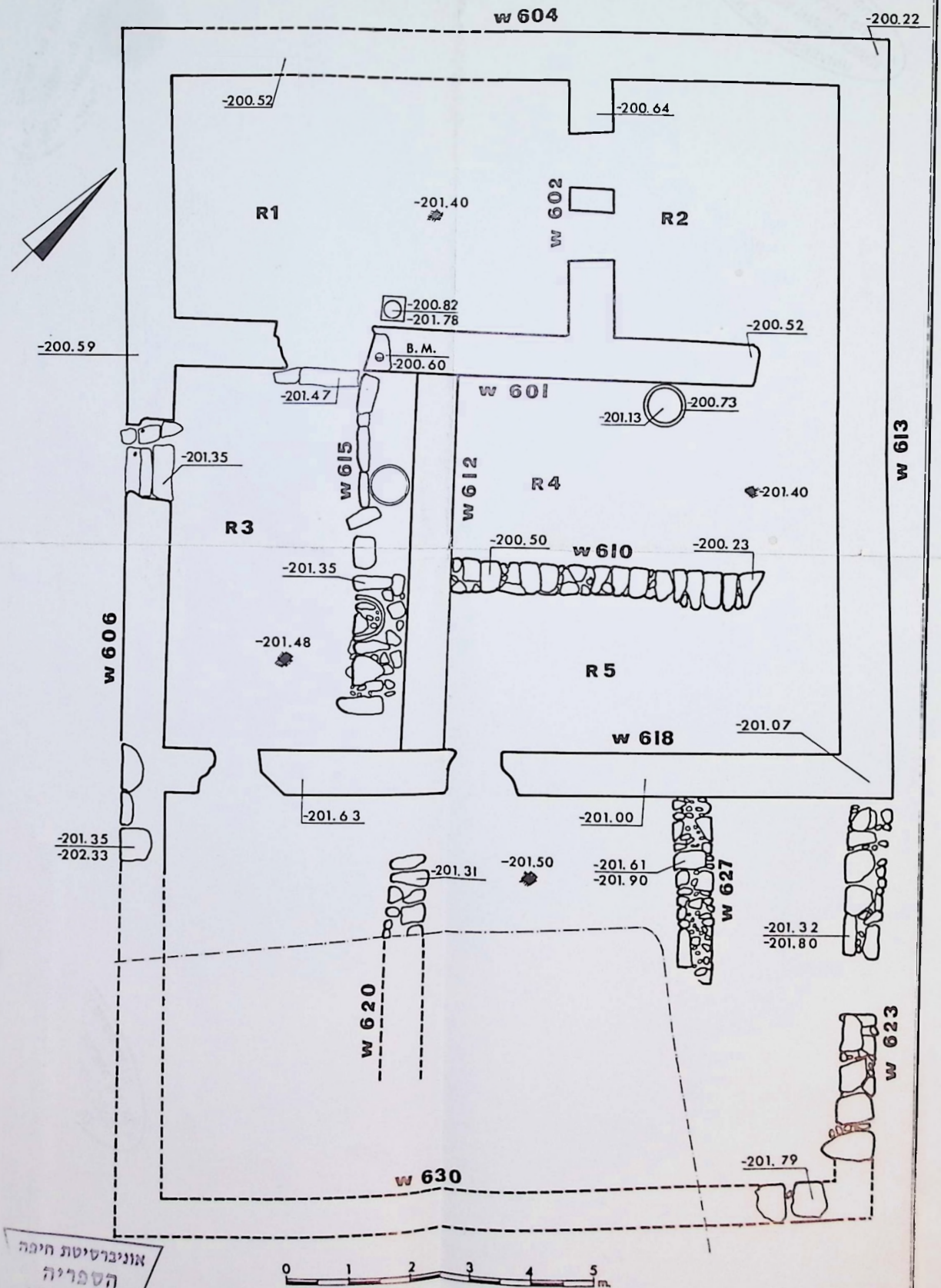

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN VII

Capernaum
Area C
Levels I-II

למודים אזוריים
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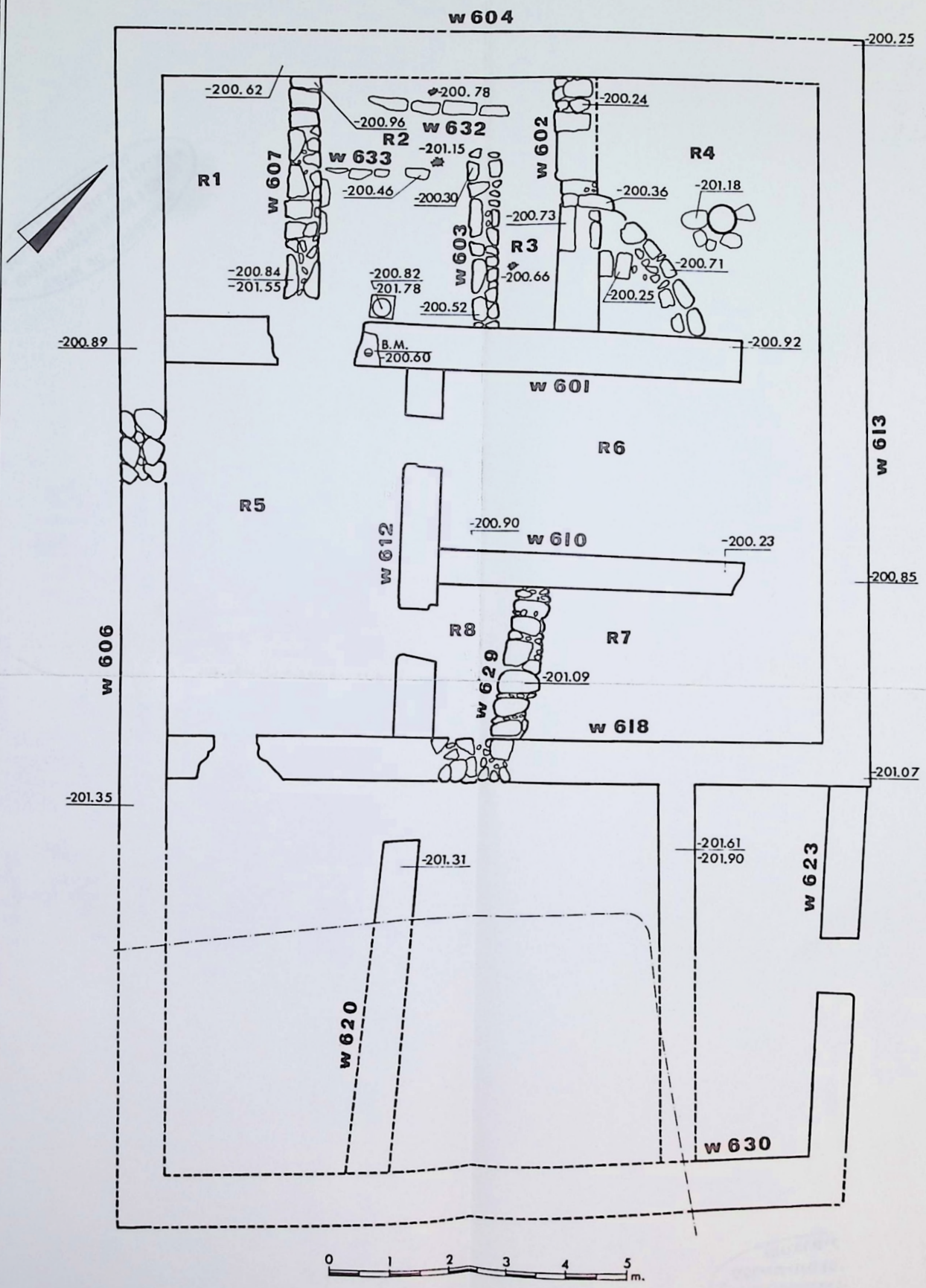

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN IX

למודים אזוריים
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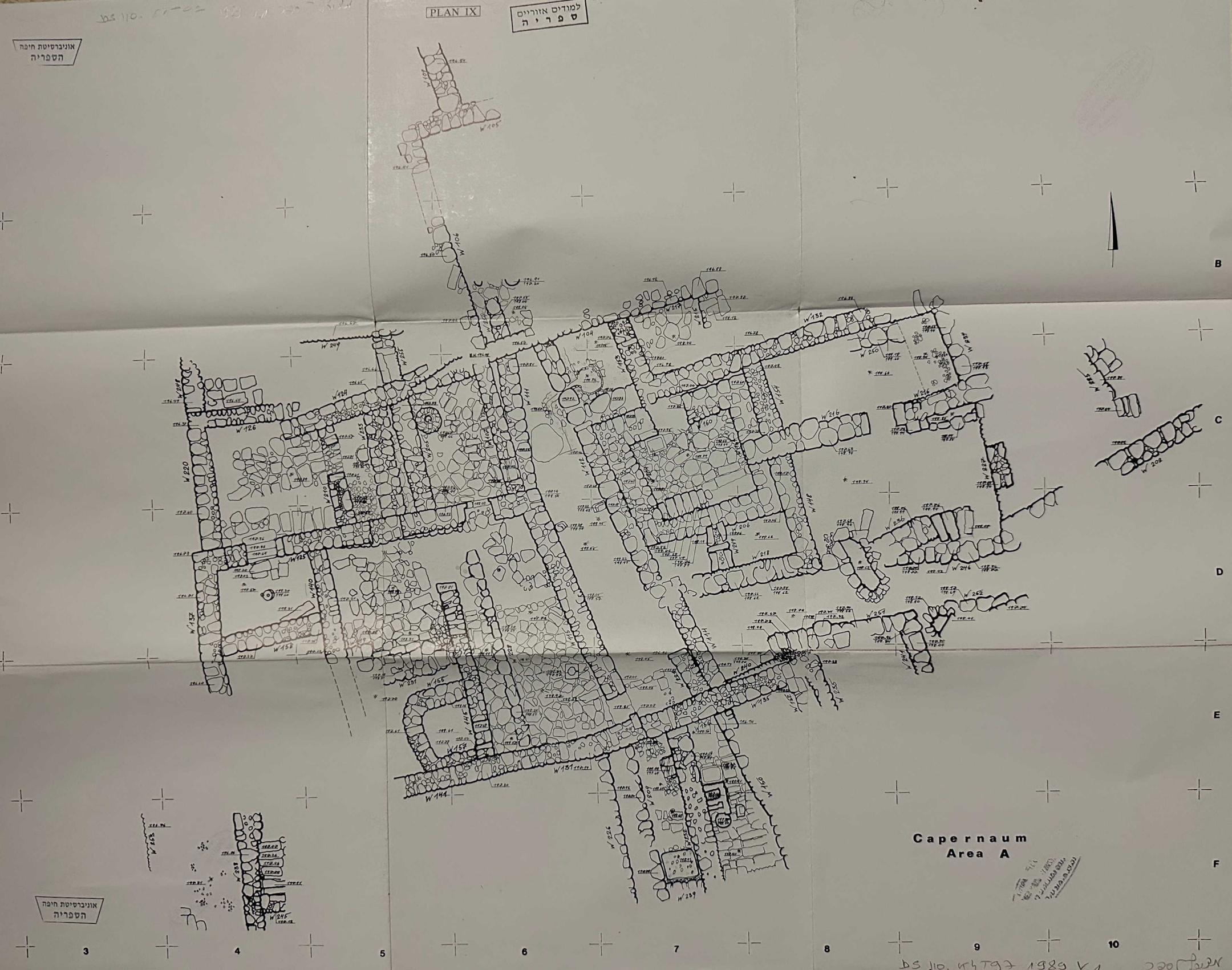

Capernaum
Area A

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

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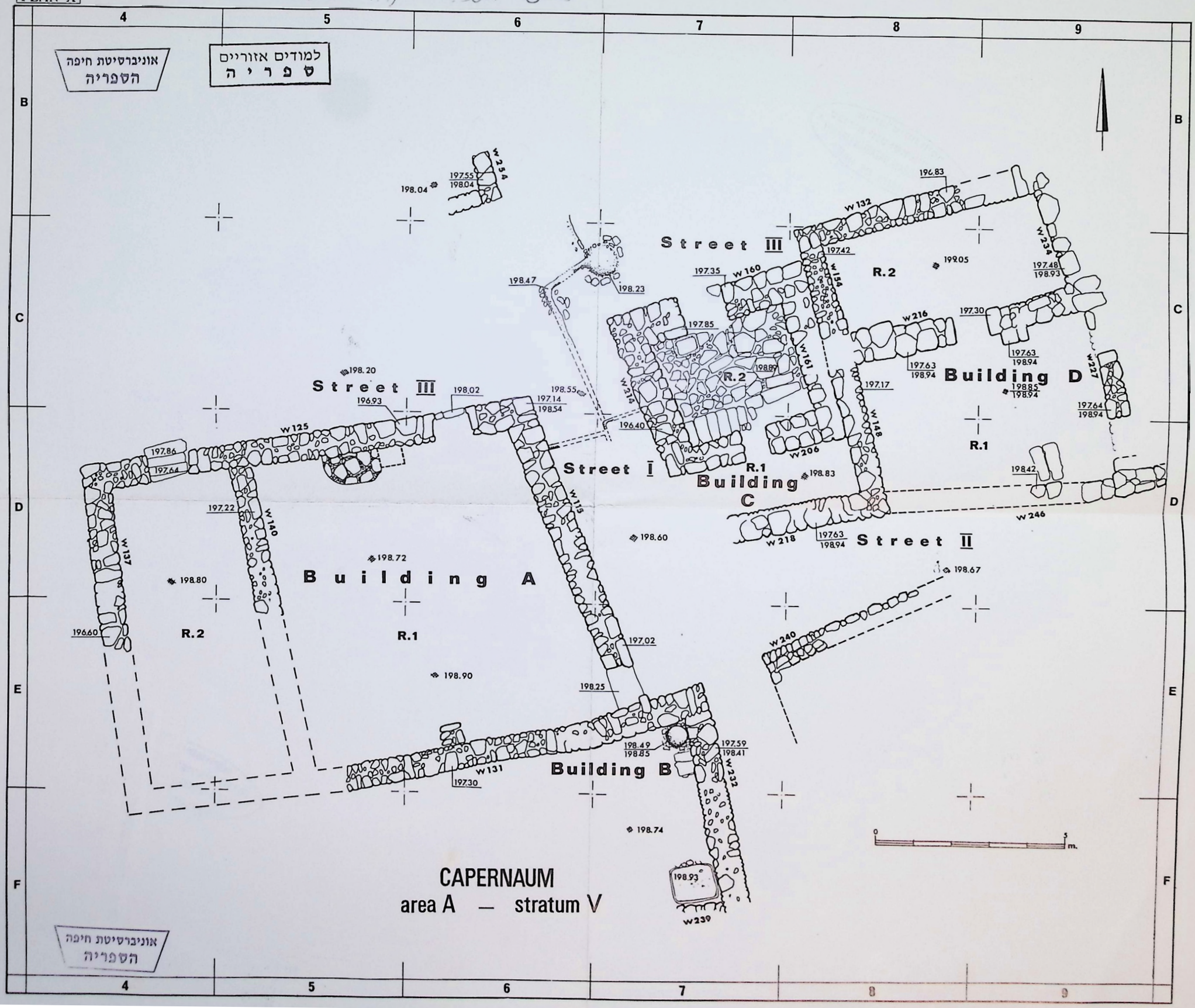


PLAN XI

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

למודים אזוריים
ס פ ר י ה

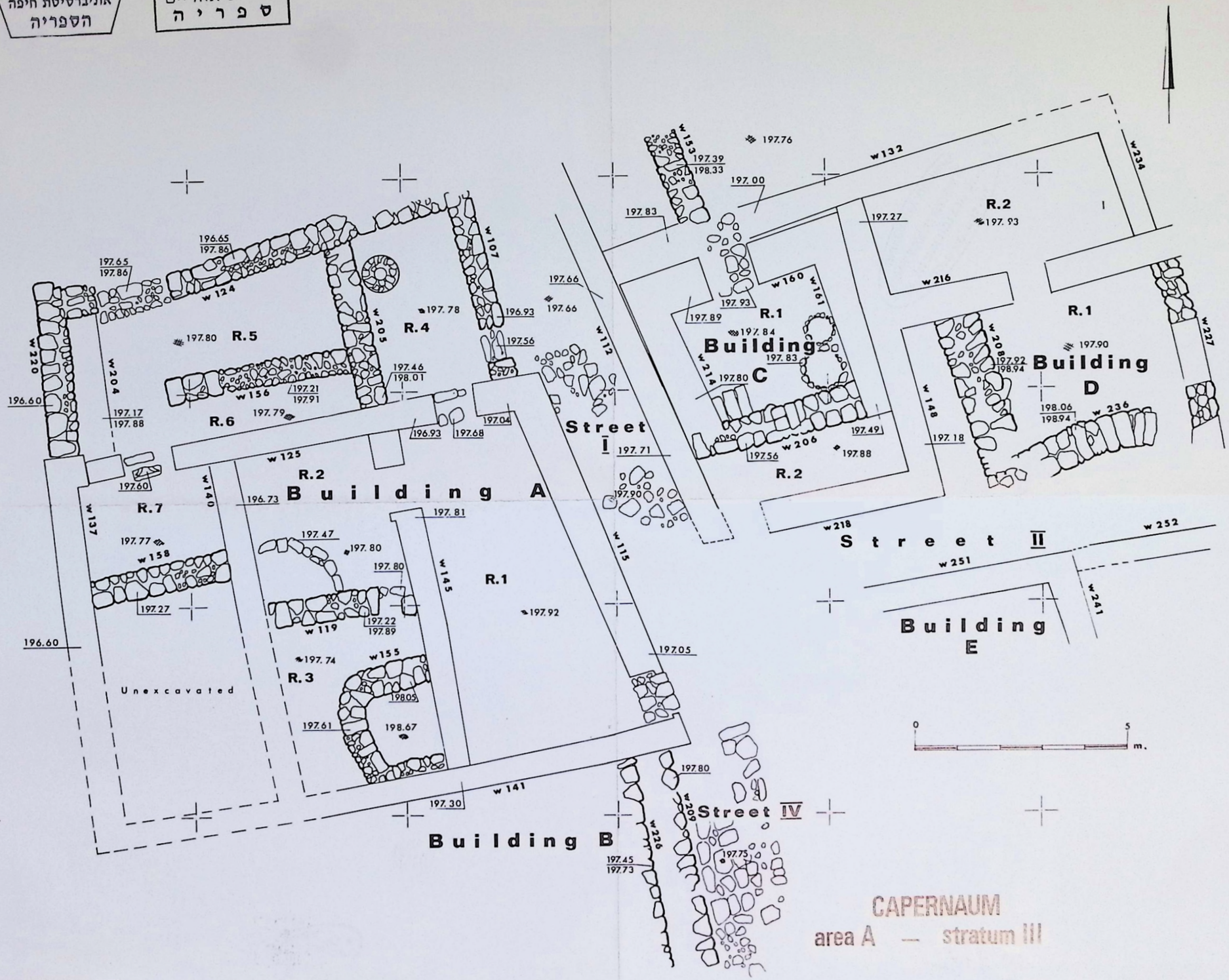
CAPERNAUM
area A — stratum IV

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN XII

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

למודים אזוריים
ס פ ר י ה



CAPERNAUM
area A — stratum III

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN XIII

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

Building K

Court II

Court III

Court I

Building F

Building A

Building H

Building G

Building J

Building I

R.1 R.2 R.3 R.4

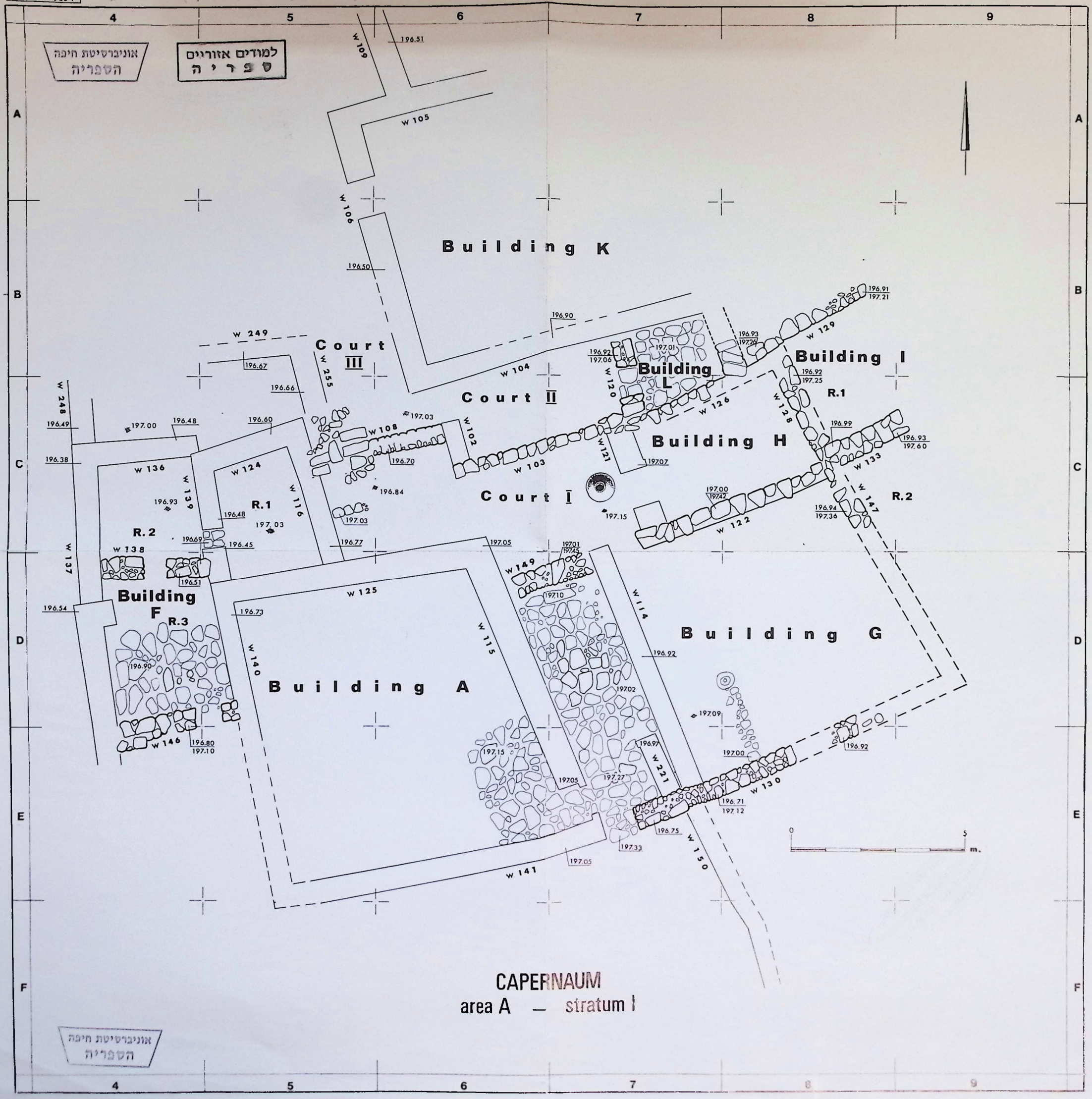
0 5 m.

CAPERNAUM
area A — stratum II

אוניברסיטת חיפה
הספריה

PLAN XIV

מצעל לספר : 1989 V.1 K4T97 DS110.



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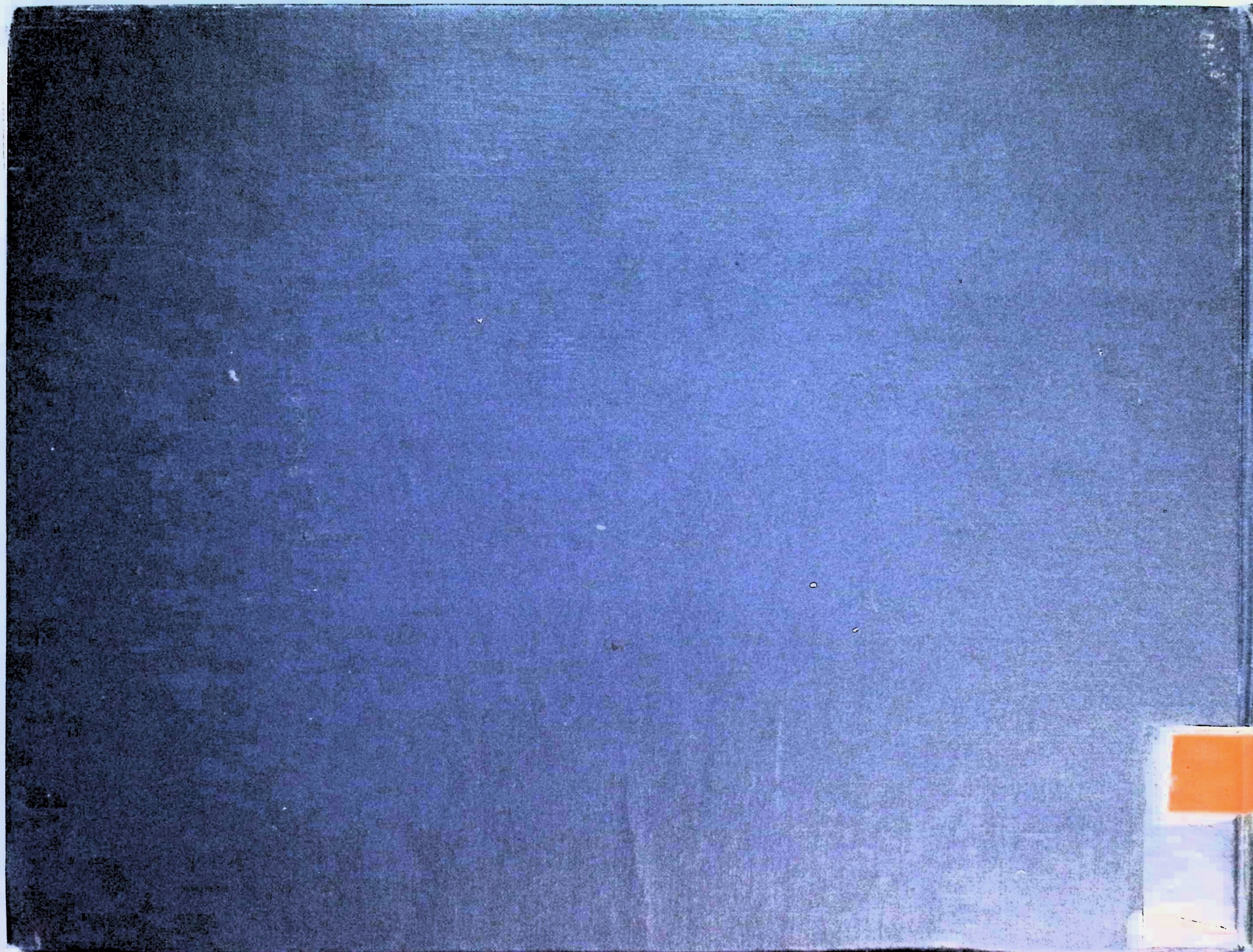
area A — stratum I

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